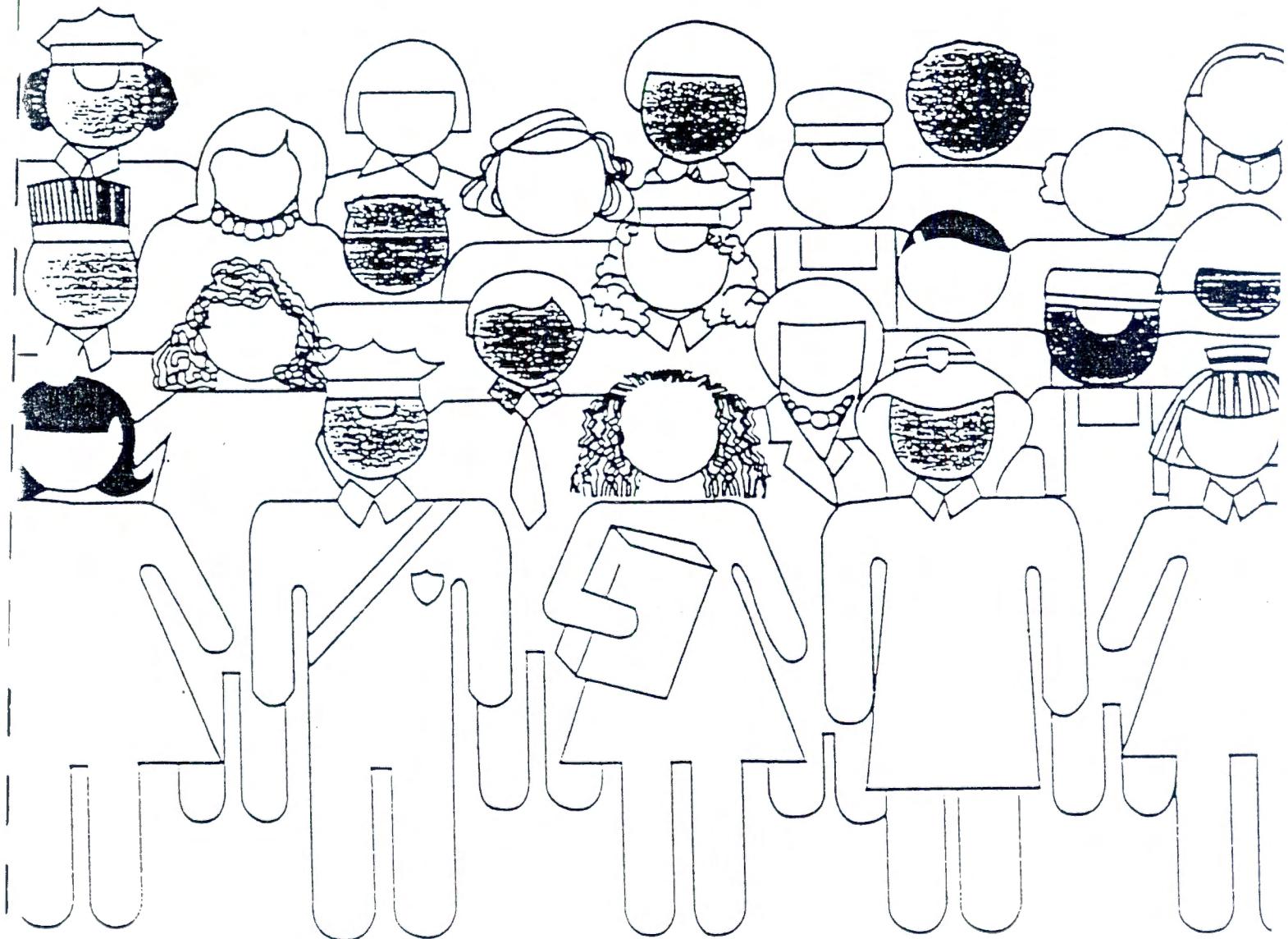


ANALYSIS OF THE IMPEDIMENTS TO FAIR HOUSING

RACIAL AND ETHNIC DIVERSITY AND CHANGE IN THE
SOUTH BEND - MISHAWAKA METROPOLITAN AREA

TIMOTHY J. KENNY
RICHARD A. LAMANNA



SOUTH BEND HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

RACIAL AND ETHNIC DIVERSITY AND CHANGE IN THE
SOUTH BEND - MISHAWAKA METROPOLITAN AREA

Timothy J. Kenny

Richard A. Lamanna

A Report to the South Bend Human Rights Commission

November 1996

Contents

Executive Summary	iii	
Acknowledgements	iv	
List of Maps	v	
List of Figures	vi	
List of Tables	vii	
Introduction: An Overview of Residential Segregation in American Society	1	
Chapters		
1. Ethnic Diversity and Residential Segregation in St. Joseph County	3	
2. South Bend	7	
A. Blacks	7	
B. Hispanics	31	
C. Asians	41	
3. Mishawaka	47	
A. Blacks	48	
B. Hispanics	60	
C. Asians	66	
4. The Suburban Ring	71	
A. Blacks	71	
B. Hispanics	80	
C. Asians	87	
5. Summary and Conclusions	97	
6. Recommendations	100	
References	102	
Appendix		
A -	Methodology of Segregation Index	107
B -	Maps	108
C -	Figures	119
D -	Tables	130

Executive Summary

A comprehensive examination of the history of racial and ethnic segregation of African American, Hispanic and Asian residents of St. Joseph County over the last half century revealed that:

- * The black population remains highly concentrated in South Bend;
- * Levels of segregation declined slightly between 1980 and 1990 but remain higher than average;
- * Hispanics and especially Asians are less segregated than blacks;
- * The three groups differ significantly from each other and from non-Hispanic whites;
- * All three groups have grown fairly rapidly in recent years but the Asian and Hispanic populations remain relatively small;
- * There is a danger of resegregation in South Bend, especially in the Northwest Zone;
- * Most of the changes, which have been very modest, in Mishawaka and the suburban ring are associated with newly developed apartment complexes and university-related housing.

In light of the above findings, we recommend:

- * A program of public education to increase awareness of the problem and the advantages of integrated neighborhoods;
- * Development and promotion of a "new vision": of what a metropolitan community could be;
- * Establishment of a county-wide human rights agency to promote better understanding and vigorously enforce the fair housing laws;
- * Promotion of population growth and housing development;
- * Development of economic and education policies to improve the relative status of blacks and Hispanics;
- * Close monitoring of transitional areas to avoid resegregation of integrated neighborhoods;
- * Study of the experience of communities that have enjoyed some success in reducing their levels of residential segregation.

Acknowledgments

This project would not have been possible without the generous cooperation of Mr. Lonnie L. Douglas, Executive Director of the South Bend Human Rights Commission and his able staff. For this we are very grateful.

Needless to say a project of this scope is never the work of the author alone. The following people have been of invaluable assistance at various stages of the project and we would like to express our deep appreciation: Lawrence Lamanna, Janice Lamanna, Amy Orr, Robert Dhoore, and Katie Schlotfeldt.

List of Maps

1.	South Bend Census Tracts, 1990	109
2.	South Bend Zones, 1990	110
3.	Percent Black by City Block, South Bend, 1990	111
4.	Percent Hispanic by City Block, South Bend, 1990	112
5.	Percent Asian by City Block, South Bend, 1990	113
6.	Mishawaka Census Tracts, 1990	114
7.	Mishawaka Zones, 1990	115
8.	Percent Black by City Block, St. Joseph County, 1990.	116
9.	Percent Hispanic by City Block, St. Joseph County, 1990	117
10.	Percent Asian by City Block, St. Joseph County, 1990	118

List of Figures

1.	Racial and Ethnic Composition, St. Joseph County, 1990	120
2.	Growth of the Black, Hispanic and Asian Population, St. Joseph County	121
3.	Changes in the Distribution of the Black Population of St. Joseph County, 1940-1990.	122
4.	Changes in the Distribution of the Hispanic Population of St. Joseph County, 1960-1990	123
5.	Changes in the Distribution of the Asian Population of St. Joseph County, 1960-1990	124
6.	Changes in the Percent Black for Major Divisions of St. Joseph County, 1940-1990	125
7.	Changes in the Percent Hispanic for Major Divisions of St. Joseph County, 1960-1990	126
8.	Changes in Percent Asian for Major Divisions of St. Joseph County, 1960-1990	127
9.	Comparative Segregation Scores of Blacks and Hispanics for St. Joseph County, South Bend, and Mishawaka, 1990	128
10.	Black Segregation, South Bend, 1940-1990	129

List of Tables

1.	Black, Hispanic and Asian Populations by Municipalities and Unincorporated Remainders of Townships, 1990	13
2.	St. Joseph County Black, Hispanic and Asian Populations by Civil Township Without Regard to Municipalities, 1990	13
3.	Black, Hispanic and Asian Populations by Census Designated Places, 1990	13
4.	Comparative Socio-Economic Profile, Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and Non-Hispanic Whites, 1990	13
5.	Growth and Location of the Black Population, South Bend and St. Joseph County, 1940-1990	13
6.	Distribution of the Black Population Civil Townships, St. Joseph County, 1960-1990	13
7.	1990 Percent Black for Township Components of the City of South Bend and the Unincorporated Remainder of the Same Townships	13
8.	Comparative Segregation Scores of Blacks and Hispanics for St. Joseph County, South Bend, and Mishawaka, 1990	13
9.	Percent Black and Levels of Segregation for South Bend and Selected Midwestern Metropolitan Areas, 1980, 1990	13
10.	Percent Black and Levels of Segregation for South Bend and other Indiana Metropolitan Areas, 1980, 1990	13
11.	Distribution of Asian Population, 1960-1990, for St. Joseph County, South Bend, Mishawaka, and the Remainder of St. Joseph County	13

12.	Distribution of Total, Black, Hispanic, and Asian Population by Zone, South Bend, 1960-1990	144
13.	Distribution of Total, Black, Hispanic, and Asian Population by Census Tract, South Bend, 1960 - 1990	145
14.	Distribution of the Black and Hispanic Population by Zone, Mishawaka, 1960-1990	150
15.	Racial Composition of Zones, Mishawaka, 1960-1990	151
16.	Distribution of Total, Black, and Hispanic Population by Census Tract, Mishawaka, 1960-1990	152

Introduction

An Overview of Residential Segregation in American Society

In 1983 when we prepared our first report on residential segregation in South Bend (Lamanna and Kenny, 1983), relatively little was known about the extent and nature of residential segregation in American cities. That is no longer the case. The last decade or so has seen an enormous amount of research and a remarkable improvement in our level of knowledge and understanding. Unfortunately, this has not led to a significant decline in the levels of segregation or a clear understanding of what actions might lead to a significant reduction. In short, a solid foundation is now in place, but feasible remedies still seem rather elusive. Nevertheless, there is much to be learned by reviewing our present state of knowledge on this issue.

The Contemporary Situation

Farley and Frey (1992, 1994) have recently published a comprehensive study of segregation patterns in 1990 and trends in segregation between 1980 and 1990 for the 232 U.S. metropolitan areas with substantial black populations. The results of their study suggest that the modest declines in segregation observed during the 1970's continued through the 1980's. A detailed review of their findings will help identify factors that may impede or facilitate change in levels of segregation.

The first thing to note is that relatively high levels of residential segregation have been and still are a characteristic of most American communities. The average segregation index for the areas studied was 69 in 1980 and 65 in 1990 (see Appendix A for an explanation of the index of segregation). The range of scores was considerable. Gary, IN, the most segregated metropolitan area, had a score of 91 in 1990 and Jacksonville, NC, the least segregated area had a score of 31. South Bend, at 69, it should be noted was slightly above average. To put this another way, almost one-third of the black population of even the least segregated American metropolitan area would have to be relocated in order to eliminate all residential segregation in that area.

Change between 1980 and 1990 was pervasive but for the most part modest. Segregation decreased in 194 metropolitan areas and in 85 of these areas declined at least 5 points. In 1980, 14 metropolitan areas had indexes exceeding 85, whereas ten years later only four metropolitan areas had indexes that high. In 1980, 29 metropolitan areas could have been classified as moderately segregated if that means a score of less than 55. The number of moderately segregated places more than doubled to 68 in 1990. The average decline as we note above was 4 points. South Bend's decline (2 points) was only half that of the national average.

Farley and Frey argue that four developments--changes in Federal housing policies, liberalization of white attitudes toward black, growth of the black middle class, and substantial new housing construction--set the stage for reducing segregation. However, the effects of these factors depended on the characteristics of a metropolitan area.

The most segregated metropolitan areas were old midwestern industrial centers (e.g. Gary IN and Detroit, MI) and southern retirement communities (e.g. Ft. Myers, FL and

Sarasota, FL). The least segregated areas were those associated with military installation (e.g. Fayetteville, NC and Jacksonville, NC) and university towns (Lawrence, KS and Charlottesville, VA), and relatively small places although a few western, larger places such as Honolulu, HI and Tucson, AZ also had low scores.

It seems then, the newer the metropolitan area, the less industrial, the more military, university or government based, the less segregated. Metropolitan areas in the West were the least segregated and those in the Midwest, the most segregated.

Among other factors found to be relevant were new construction, the presence of other minorities, relative economic status, and size. Metropolitan areas with substantial recent construction were less segregated. Areas with large Hispanic and Asian populations relative to blacks had relatively low scores. Metropolitan areas in which black household income was high relative to white household income had significantly lower segregation scores, suggesting that improvements in economic status of blacks may lead to greater residential assimilation. Finally small metropolitan areas were less segregated than large areas.

For the most part, the variables associated with low levels of segregation were also associated with greater decrease in segregation between 1980 and 1990. Military locations and areas with a high percentage of new construction were especially noteworthy in explaining change. Finally, the largest decreases in segregation occurred in metropolitan areas in which blacks made up a small percentage of the neighborhood of the typical white.

Chapter 1

Ethnic Diversity and Residential Segregation in St. Joseph County

The South Bend-Mishawaka Metropolitan area (St. Joseph County under current census definition) had a population of nearly 250 thousand people in 1990. South Bend is the largest city and the county seat. South Bend has had a total population of over 100 thousand for more than a half century.

Much of the 19th century and early 20th century population growth was the result of the rapid industrialization of the area and the influx of European immigrants. Hence, the community has a long history of welcoming and assimilating newcomers from different cultural backgrounds. Our focus in this report will be on one of the earliest arrivals in the area, African Americans and two of the more recent arrivals, Hispanics and Asians.

Figure 1 shows that almost 10% of the county population is black, 2% is Hispanics and 1% Asian. However, if we compare the city of South Bend with the remainder of the county we get a somewhat different picture. The percent black in the city (20.9) is 14 times higher than the percent black in the remainder of the county (1.5%). Hispanics are almost 3 times more likely to live in South Bend than in the remainder of the county. Asians are about 1% of the population in both sectors.

All three groups have experienced steady growth in recent years (see Figure 2). The black population grew from 3,702 in 1940 to 24,190 in 1990. Starting from very small bases in 1960, both the Hispanics and the Asian population have grown rapidly since then.

If we take a historical perspective on the distribution of these groups between South Bend and the remainder of the county (see Figures 3,4,5), we see that the pattern is different for each of the groups.

In 1940 South Bend contained 96.0% of all African Americans in St. Joseph County (see Table 5). Fifty years later this figure was still over 91%. It is apparent that while the total black population has grown, its relative distribution has remained virtually unchanged. Outside the city of South Bend, in only 3 of the 21 jurisdictions (Indian Village 2.8%; Clay Township 2.1%; and Portage Township 5.6%) does the percent black exceed 2 percent (see Table 1). It is interesting to note that in those cases where a portion of a township is part of South Bend, that portion has a consistently higher percent black than the remainder of the township (Table 7). The largest change in percent black since 1980 occurred in Clay Township, which went from 2.2% to 3.6% black (Table 6).

The Hispanic population increased its proportion in South Bend and Mishawaka since 1960; however, this shift seems to have leveled off since 1980, leaving a minority of Hispanics in the suburban and rural parts of the county.

In the case of Asians there was a reversal of the Hispanics' pattern. Starting with a solid majority of Asians in the cities in 1960 we have seen a fairly steady decline so that

currently a majority of Asians now live in the suburban parts of the county (see Table 11). In summary, for blacks the pattern of distribution seems frozen; for Hispanics there has been increasing centralization and for Asians increasing suburbanization.

These changes in the distribution of the minority populations have resulted in changes in the relative composition of the different areas in the county (Figure 6-8). For example, only 3.5% of the South Bend population was black in 1940, but this rose to 20.9% by 1990. Whereas, in the remainder of the county the percent black rose from 0.2% to 1.5% during the same period.

The percent Hispanic increased in all sectors since 1960 but especially in the city of South Bend (Figure 7). The Asian percent also increased in all sectors but in contrast to the Hispanics the largest rise was in the suburban portion (Figure 8).

Inter-group Differences

The groups under discussion differ not only in their relative size and distribution in the county but in a variety of other ways as well (see Table 4). Hispanics are the youngest of the four and non-Hispanic whites the oldest. There is almost 15 years difference in their median age. Blacks and Hispanics both have a very high proportion (1 in 3) of their population under 16 years of age whereas only 1 in 5 whites are under 16. Asians have the lowest dependency ratio (proportion under 16 plus proportion 65 and over), only 28.0. The other groups have similar ratios but the mix of young and old differ substantially from one group to the next.

Fertility rates and family size also differ a great deal. Blacks and Hispanics have the most children and largest families, while Asians and white are at the other extreme. The same pattern prevails in terms of percent of female headed families with children under 18. One in three for blacks; 1 in 20 for Asians.

There are also major differences between the groups in the educational attainment of persons 25 years and older. Only 58% of blacks are high school graduates compared to 81% of Asians. Only 7% of blacks, 19% of Hispanics and 20% of whites have a bachelors degree or higher but almost 60% of Asians do.

In terms of employment and income, the pattern is much the same: blacks tend to be the most disadvantaged - highest unemployment, lowest income, and highest level of poverty. Asians and whites are clearly the most advantaged with Hispanics falling somewhere in between.

Asians (68%) and Hispanics (23%) are most likely to be foreign born and whites (2%) and blacks (0.9%) least likely to be foreign born. The same pattern exists for being multilingual and for having a language handicap. The language handicap among Asians and Hispanics is considerable. Two thirds or more speak another language and of these, better than a third do not speak English very well. Many members of these two groups truly are new arrivals. Over one out of three Asians and about one in 10 Hispanics lived abroad prior to 1985.

Blacks, Hispanics and Asians in South Bend occupy the oldest housing. Blacks have the least expensive housing and are least likely to own their homes (49% owner occupied for blacks versus 75% for whites). However, Hispanics in general and Asians in South Bend have the most crowded housing.

The complex ways in which these groups differ from one another often makes the interpretation of particular differences difficult. For example, blacks are highly segregated while Asians are quite dispersed through the county, even though blacks are more likely to be native born, lived here longer, and not have a language problem. Is the greater segregation of blacks due to the greater discrimination they encounter in the housing market compared to Asians, or is it a result of their lower socio-economic status, greater youth, and higher dependency ratio?

It is also interesting to compare the residents of each group who live in South Bend with the county total. For blacks, there is very little difference on the variables presented in table 4, perhaps because so few blacks live outside the city. For Hispanics and Asians there are very significant class differences. Residents of the county tend to have higher socio-economic status. For whites, county residents tend to be a bit younger, live in newer and more expensive housing and are more likely to work outside the county, than South Bend residents. For the most part, the differences between city and county residents are not as great as many people think. On the other hand, the differences between racial and ethnic groups both within the city and within the county, are quite substantial.

Racial and Ethnic Segregation

To gauge the extent of residential segregation in the South Bend-Mishawaka Metropolitan Area, we computed the index of segregation by city block for the county as a whole, the city of South Bend, and the city of Mishawaka. The Index varies from 0 to 100. A score of 0 would indicate each block has the same ratio of the two groups being compared as the unit (city or county) as a whole. For example, St. Joseph County is 9.8% black. If every block in the county has 9.8% black residents then there would be no segregation and the score would be 0. On the other hand if there were total segregation - every block was either all white or all black, the score would be 100.

We compared the distribution of blacks and the distribution of Hispanics to the distribution of the total population and got the following results, (see Table 8 and Figure 9): for blacks, South Bend with a score of 62.9 was the least segregated unit while Mishawaka (71.8) and St. Joseph County (73.3) were considerably more segregated.

The same patterns prevailed for Hispanics - South Bend, 59.6, Mishawaka, 64.5 and the county 65.2. In each case blacks were more segregated than Hispanics, although the difference in South Bend was not very great.

The segregation level of blacks in South Bend declined slightly from 1980 (66.2) to 1990 (62.9). This was less than one fourth the decline that had occurred during the 1970's but continued the pattern of decline in segregation since 1950. However, examination of 1960 through 1990 census tract data and 1990 block data provide some evidence that some currently integrated areas may be resegregating. In 1960, only two

of 35 city census tracts had black majorities. In 1980, five of the 44 tracts in the city had black majorities. In 1990, seven of the 44 tracts were over 50 percent black. These detailed patterns and their implications will be discussed further in the following chapters.

Regional and State Comparisons

In order to put these findings in perspective it would be useful to compare the South Bend - Mishawaka Metropolitan Area to other metropolitan areas in the midwest (Table 9) and other metropolitan areas in Indiana (Table 10). The scores represented here for the South Bend-Mishawaka Metropolitan area do not correspond to the scores we have computed and reported above because we used city blocks as our unit of analysis while Farley and Frey (1992, 1994) used block groups.

Generally, the larger the unit of analysis, the less sensitive the measure, and segregation scores will be somewhat lower than if computed with smaller units like blocks. For example, we indicated a black segregation score for the county of 73.3. Farley and Frey (1992, 1994), report a score of 69. Nevertheless, it will be helpful to see how we compare to other metropolitan areas.

In 1980, South Bend with a segregation score of 71, ranked fifth least segregated metropolitan area in the state. Only Bloomington (49), Evansville (70), Lafayette (43), and Terre Haute (69) were less segregated. By 1990, South Bend's score had declined to 69. This was less change over the decade than most metropolitan areas in the state had experienced, resulting in a change in the relative status of South Bend. In addition to the four areas mentioned above, Kokomo (64) and Muncie (67) are now less segregated than South Bend.

An examination of Table 9 makes it apparent that the smaller metropolitan areas of the midwest are considerably less segregated than the two largest metropolitan areas, Chicago and Detroit. Among the medium sized metropolitan areas examined there is considerable variation. Champaign (54) and Ann Arbor (55) are the least segregated. Benton Harbor (78) and Rockford (75) are the most segregated. South Bend-Mishawaka (69) falls close to the middle of the distribution.

Four areas did not change at all between 1980 and 1990, while four increased the degree of segregation. Of the eight areas that experienced a decline, only one Hamilton, Ohio (-11) exceeded four percentage points. South Bend's decrease in segregation was at the low end of this group. It seems clear that little progress has been made in breaking down the barriers to housing integration in St. Joseph County, and compared to other metropolitan areas we appear to be slipping behind. The reasons for this may become more apparent as we take a more detailed look in the next 3 chapters at the history and present status of residential segregation in South Bend, Mishawaka, and the suburban ring of the metropolitan area.

Chapter 2

South Bend

Blacks

In their 1983 analysis of the South Bend demographic data, the present authors divided the city into six zones to detect the population trends in greater detail than city-wide statistics would provide, while elucidating large-scale trends not necessarily evident at the level of the individual city block or census tract. The six zones were the Northwest, Northeast, West, LaSalle Park-Western Avenue, Southwest and Southeast. The census tract containing the central business district and several others at the edge of the city were not included in these six zones.

The distribution of South Bend's black population by zone is traceable over the last three intercensal decades. The publication of demographic data for South Bend by census tract began with the 1960 census. Table 12 presents black population statistics for the city of South Bend as a whole and for the six zones described above for 1960, 1970, 1980 and 1990. Table 13 contains the same information for the census tracts, 44 in number as of 1990, that made up the city in 1960, 1970, 1980 and 1990 (see Map 1).

Northwest Zone

The first of the six zones to be examined in the present analysis is the Northwest (see Map 2). This zone consists of seven census tracts west of the St. Joseph River and mostly north of Lincoln Way West. Although the Census Bureau only began publishing census tract data for South Bend at the time of the 1960 enumeration, city block statistics were compiled for South Bend in 1940 and 1950.

It is evident from inspection of the racial block maps of South Bend compiled from the 1940 and 1950 block statistics that the black population of the Northwest Zone defined for the present study was practically nil at the time of both of those censuses. The first census evidence of any detectable black population in this area surfaced in the 1960 block and tract data. The 1960 black population of all the census tracts in the Northwest Zone was 203, or one percent of the total population of the area. Most of this small black population was in Census Tract 2, specifically in the four blocks surrounding the intersection of Marquette and Elmer, (see Tables 12 and 13).

During the 1960's, the Northwest Zone black population jumped sixfold and stood at 1,239 or 5.8 percent of the total population of the zone in 1970. Tracts 2, 4, and 6, the heart of the Northwest Zone, form an irregularly-shaped area bounded by Bendix Drive, Lathrop Street, Portage Avenue and Lincoln Way West. By 1970, there were some

black residents on roughly half of the blocks in this three-tract area, but only five of these blocks had black majorities.

The most significant intercensal period to date in regard to population shifts in South Bend's Northwest Zone has been the decade of the 1970's. The black population of the zone nearly tripled during the decade and stood at 3,433 in 1980. The black share of the zone's total population rose from 5.8 percent found in the 1970 census data to 17.8 percent black in 1980. The net increase of 2,194 black residents in the cluster of seven census tracts comprising the Northwest Zone accounted for an astounding 94.2 percent of the city-wide 1970-1980 black increase of 2,329 persons.

The demographic changes of the 1970's saw a diffusion of black population into all seven census tracts of the Northwest Zone. By 1980, most blocks in the core area north of Lincoln Way and west of Portage--Tracts 2, 4, and 6--had black residents, and 25 of these blocks were more than 50 percent black. Census Tract 6, between Lincoln Way and Portage, east of Muessel Grove Park, changed from 4.2 to 23.2 percent black between 1970 and 1980, and had one block with a black majority at the latter date. Tract 4, south of Elwood Avenue and west of Muessel Grove Park, went from 6.9 to 29.2 percent black during the 1970's. This tract, with no predominantly black blocks in 1970, contained eight such blocks in 1980. Tract 2, north of Elwood between Portage Avenue and Bendix Drive, contains the site of the first significant black settlement north of Lincoln Way, the four blocks surrounding the intersection of Marquette and Elmer identified from the 1960 census block data. In 1970, this tract was 14.3 percent black and contained five blocks with black majorities. By 1980, Tract 2 was 29.2 percent black and had 16 blocks with black majorities. These predominantly black blocks formed a contiguous cluster extending two blocks east and two blocks west of the major north-south thoroughfare, Olive Street. Thus, a new major black population center emerged on South Bend's Northwest Side by 1980. Before 1980, the major predominantly black neighborhoods had been three nearly contiguous localities on the West Side, a northeastern area on both sides of Eddy Street, and a zone south of Sample Street and east of Michigan Street.

In 1990, the seven census tracts in the Northwest Zone contained 4,498 black residents, an increase of more than 1,000 black inhabitants since 1980 (see Map 3). The zone was 23.5 percent black in 1990, up from 17.8 percent black in 1980. Once again, the bulk of the black population growth fell in the portion of the zone lying north of Lincoln Way and west of Portage Avenue--Tracts 2, 4, and 6.

Examination of the 1980-1990 changes in these three individual census tracts reveals a somewhat more pronounced shift in population composition than in the Northwest Zone as a whole. Tract 2, north of Elwood and west of Portage Avenue, went from 29.2 to 36.8 percent black between 1980 and 1990. During the same period, the number of blocks in this tract with black majorities rose from 16 to 21.

Tract 4, south of Tract 2 and west of Muessel Grove Park, was 29.2 percent black in 1980 and 38.5 percent black ten years later. The number of blocks with black majorities

in this tract rose from eight in 1980 to nine in 1990.

Tract 6, east of Tract 4 between Lincoln Way and Portage Avenue, was 23.2 percent black in 1980 and 33.5 percent black in 1990. The number of blocks more than 50 percent black rose sharply from one in 1980 to eight in 1990.

Although the initial focus of black settlement in the cluster of three census tracts in the 1950's was at the north end--the four blocks surrounding the intersection of Marquette and Elmer in Tract 2--racial transition was somewhat more pronounced farther south during the 1980's. The two census tracts bounded on the south by Lincoln Way--Tracts 4 and 6--had greater shifts in composition from white to black, and larger actual numerical black gains than did Tract 2, farther north, between 1980 and 1990.

The two southern tracts, 4 and 6, are distinguished from the northern Tract 2 by their closer proximity to long-established, large black populations south of Lincoln Way West on the West Side. Tract 6 is also very close to the central business district. For whatever reasons, black population growth in the area north of Lincoln Way and west of Portage is no longer characterized merely by dispersion outward from the area of first settlement, the corner of Marquette and Elmer, that emerged prior to 1960, but by increases throughout the three census tracts--2, 4 and 6--that cover the area in question.

Besides the movement of black households onto most blocks north of Lincoln Way and west of Portage Avenue, the other major demographic development in that area has been the more recent transition of significant numbers of these blocks from racially mixed to predominantly black. In 1960, there were three blocks with black majorities on the Northwest Side, the first ever in this part of South Bend, all surrounding the intersection of Marquette and Elmer in Tract 2. In 1970, there were five predominantly black blocks in this zone of the city, all in the same immediate area in Tract 2. The rapid demographic change on the Northwest Side during the 1970's was mirrored by the increase in the number of predominantly black blocks to 25 in 1980, of which eight were in Tract 4 and one was in Tract 6. Continued transition in the three tracts between Lincoln Way and Portage during the 1980's raised the number of blocks with black majorities to 38 in 1990.

The concentration of most of the predominantly black blocks in a corridor extending several blocks on either side of Olive Street in 1980 suggested the possibility that this was an early stage of a very large-scale transition of the Northwest Side's racial composition. Although a majority of the new predominantly black blocks in the Northwest Side in 1990 were located farther east in Tract 6, the Olive Street corridor was augmented enough that there was now a loose pattern of mostly black blocks extending more than a mile from Lathrop Street on the north to the intersection of Olive and Lincoln Way on the south. The southward extension to Lincoln Way is significant because during the same decade the established West Side black zone had expanded northward and reached the south side of Lincoln Way at the same intersection. This development will be considered in the general discussion of residential patterns, racial transition and neighborhood stability in South Bend.

Three other census tracts in the Northwest Zone, lying east of Portage Avenue, had some black population growth during the 1980's, but each was less than one-tenth black in 1990. These were Tracts 3.01 and 3.02 north of Angela Blvd., between Portage and the St. Joseph River, and Tract 7, covering the area around Park Avenue and Leeper Park.

The remaining tract in the Northwest Zone, Tract 110, is physically isolated from the other neighborhoods in the zone by highways and extensive non-residential properties. However, the neighborhood of single-family homes and curving streets serves as an example of enduring stability and absence of blight, contrary to pejorative stereotypes of integrated communities. Tract 110, as a part of Tract 3, in 1960, had no black population in that year. In 1970, the tract was 4.0 percent black. The 1980 black percentage was 15.5, but the 1990 figure was 13.4.

Northeast Zone

The second of the six major divisions into which South Bend has been divided for this analysis is the Northeast Zone. This zone covers the portion of the city northeast and east of the St. Joseph River, with very minor outlying exceptions, with the number of census tracts included at the time of the 1990 census being eleven.

The 1940 census racial block data reveal a pattern of scattered black occupancy northeast of the river, north of Cedar Street and west of Twyckenham Drive. A pair of predominantly black blocks on the north side of South Bend Avenue, a third one several blocks west, and a score of mixed but mostly white blocks nearby contained nearly all of the black inhabitants of South Bend's Northeast Zone in 1940.

Ten years later, this Northeast Zone pattern had not been greatly altered. There were additional blocks with black majorities along South Bend Avenue near the two that had been there in 1940, and the 1950 block statistics also revealed two new blocks with black majorities on the north side of Sorin Street east of Eddy Street. The last-mentioned blocks were four blocks south of the nearest other predominantly black blocks in the area. In 1950, there were about two dozen racially mixed but predominantly white blocks in the Northeast Zone.

The 1960 census was the first enumeration in which there were published census tract statistics for South Bend, and the total population of the tracts in the Northeast Zone at this time was 34,840. The 1960 black population of the zone was 2,105, or 6.0 percent of the total. The 1960 black population of the zone was limited almost entirely to two census tracts. Some black residents were in Tract 9, immediately northeast of the central business district and east of the river, but most were in Tract 10, just to the east of Tract 9. Tract 10 extended on both sides of Eddy Street, as far east as Twyckenham Drive, up to the northern city limits. The degree of concentration of Northeast Zone blacks in the two aforementioned census tracts in 1960 is underlined by the fact that there were only 15 black residents in the remainder of the zone at that time--out of a total population of more than 25,000.

Further evidence of racial residential segregation in this part of South Bend in 1960 can be found in the pattern on the block map. One of the major arterial streets had become a clear-cut boundary by the time of the 1960 census. Along Twyckenham Drive north of Cedar Street to the north city limits, the blocks on the west side of the street were mostly integrated or predominantly black, while the blocks east of Twyckenham had no black residents whatsoever.

By 1970, the Northeast Zone contained 3,280 black inhabitants, who made up 9.4 percent of the total population. More than nine-tenths of the black population of the zone still lived in Tracts 9 and 10, but a measure of dispersion into the other tracts had taken place by 1970, for a variety of reasons.

Tract 10, the heart of the Northeast Side black community, underwent significant demographic change during the 1960's. At the start of the decade, the tract was 31.4 percent black; by 1970 it was 53.0 percent black. The transformation was quite evident on the 1970 census racial block map. The area between Eddy Street and Twyckenham Drive north of Cedar Street, racially mixed in 1960, had resegregated as predominantly black in 1970. In the latter year, all but a handful of residential blocks in this area had black majorities. The traditionally diffuse pattern of black residence in the northeastern part of South Bend had now been supplanted by the growth and merger of the older black areas into a single large, predominantly black district by 1970.

The dispersal of black households east of the river outside of the established black areas in Tracts 9 and 10 during the 1960's was most clearly evident immediately to the east of the emerging black area. While Twyckenham Drive had been a sharp line of demarcation between a mixed neighborhood to the west and an all-white area to the east in 1960, more than a half-dozen blocks on the east side of Twyckenham had some black residents by 1970.

The integration of the blocks east of Twyckenham can be considered an extension of the existing black area, but other black households had settled in parts of the Northeast Zone at some distance from the established black community by 1970. Some of these new black residents were in the newly-established scattered site public housing, a few in large apartment complexes, and some in the more typical single-family or small rental housing situations found in this part of South Bend.

During the 1970's, the total population of the Northeast Zone declined by more than 4,000, while the black population increased somewhat. In 1980, there were 30,560 residents in the 11 census tracts in the zone. The 3,767 black residents made up 12.3 percent of the total population. During the 1970's, the total population and the black population in the heavily black Eddy Street area declined, while there was a major increase in the dispersed black population in the areas east of the river that had been totally white in 1960.

In 1980, the black population of Tract 10 was 2,333, but this reduction from the higher 1970 figure made up 56.8 percent of the tract's overall population. This slight increase

in black percentage transpired because the total population declined at even a steeper rate during the decade. Sharp increases in the small dispersed black populations of the formerly all-white northeastern tracts brought about an overall increase in the black population of the zone. For example, Tract 11 had a black population of 75 in 1970 and 495 in 1980. Most of this increase was at some distance from the former racial boundary of Twyckenham Drive. In fact, the only notable eastward extension of the main black area during the decade was the emergence of black majorities in the first three small blocks along the south side of Corby Blvd., east of Twyckenham Drive. Black populations of the other recently integrated tracts rose sharply during the 1970's, but usually still comprised less than 5 percent of the total tract population in 1980.

In 1990, the Northeast Zone black population stood at 3,907, and made up 13.7 percent of the entire zone population. This nearly static situation during the decade was mirrored in the data for the individual census tracts and the pattern as plotted on the racial block map. Tract 10 had 2,311 black residents in 1990. This represented a minimal decrease during the decade. Because the overall tract population declined again, blacks now comprised 61.3 percent of the total in 1990.

The Tract 11 black population fell from 495 in 1980 to 369 in 1990. The rate of growth of the black populations in the other mostly white northeastern tracts was greatly reduced during the 1980's. The Northeast Zone pattern of a single major predominantly black area along Eddy Street and a measure of integration in most other tracts east of the St. Joseph River remained essentially unchanged between 1980 and 1990.

West Zone

South Bend's West Zone consists of five census tracts extending from the western edge of the central business district to the west city limits between Lincoln Way West on the north and the Conrail main line tracks on the south. While this zone is one of the smallest in land area of the six under consideration in the present analysis, it has historically been the major focus of black residence and business in South Bend.

In 1940, there were fewer than a dozen blocks with black majorities in the West Zone. Three of these formed a small cluster along Scott Street, while the remainder were farther west, north of Washington Street near its intersection with Walnut and Olive. More than 50 additional blocks in the West Zone had some black inhabitants. Most of these integrated blocks were within the area bounded by Lincoln Way West, Walnut, Washington and Olive. In 1940, the portion of the West Zone lying east of Blaine between Colfax and Lincoln Way was virtually all white.

Between the 1940 and 1950 censuses, the black population of South Bend more than doubled. There was a commensurate increase in the number of blocks with black majorities in the two black concentrations in the West Zone. Five of these blocks were south of Western Avenue and roughly 20 were in the West Washington corridor farther from downtown South Bend. There was no great increase in the number of blocks that were racially mixed but predominantly white and, consequently, no major increase in the

area of integrated and predominantly black housing in the West Zone.

In 1960, the five census tracts that made up the West Zone had a combined total population of 17,559. In 1960, the relatively small West Zone was among the most densely populated of the six zones defined for the present analysis. The West Zone's 1960 black population of 4,629 comprised 26.4 percent of the total population of the zone.

In 1960, the West Zone blacks were highly unevenly distributed among the five census tracts. One had a black majority and a second was more than one-third black. Two of the remaining census tracts were in early stages of racial transition, while the third had no black inhabitants at all.

Tract 21 is bounded on the east by Walnut Street, on the south by the Conrail main line, on the west by Bendix Drive and on the north by Longley and Fassnacht. This tract, center of much of the business and institutional life of the black community, had 4,326 residents in 1960. The 2,538 black inhabitants of the tract were 58.7 percent of its total population in 1960. The transition since 1950 was quite evident in the census block data. By 1960, there was a nearly unbroken pattern of predominantly black blocks, roughly 40 in number, stretching along the Washington Street corridor from the western end of Tract 21 to its eastern edge. Toward the less heavily black northern part of the tract, the number of all-white blocks had dwindled to a handful by 1960, with most blocks now having some black occupants and some containing black majorities.

The other portion of the West Zone with a large black population in 1960 was Tract 20, southeast of Tract 21, and immediately west of the central business district. The boundaries of Tract 20 are William Street on the east, the Conrail tracks on the south, Cherry Street on the west and Washington on the north. Tract 20 had 3,844 residents in 1960. The black population of 1,384 made up 36 percent of the total population in that year.

The distribution of the races within Tract 20 was highly uneven in 1960. There were two separate black concentrations, one at the west edge of the tract, and a larger one in the southern area. The main black section of Tract 20 included more than a half-dozen predominantly black blocks on the south side of Western Avenue and two more on the opposite side of the street. This was an expansion of the black area that had been visible on the 1940 and 1950 census racial block maps. The blocks south of Western Avenue, especially along William Street and Taylor Street, had been the center of Eastern European Jewish immigrant life in South Bend in the early decades of the century, and several Jewish institutions remained here in 1960 as reminders of that time.

The smaller of the two black concentrations in Tract 20 contained four blocks with black majorities. These lay between Walnut Street and Cherry Street at the westernmost end of the tract. These blocks were actually a southern extension of the Washington Street black area in Tract 21 and were separated from the above-mentioned Western Avenue black concentration by several all-white blocks. A majority of the blocks in the

tract east of Walnut Street and north of Western Avenue had no black residents in 1960.

The other near-downtown census tract in the West Zone was Tract 19. It lay north of Tract 20 and was bounded by William Street, Washington Street, Walnut Street and Lincoln Way West. In 1960, Tract 19 had 3,385 residents, of whom 345, or 10.2 percent, were black. In 1940 and 1950, there were a number of racially mixed blocks within the area that was subsequently designated Tract 19, but they were limited to the western portion of this area, with some located south of the City Cemetery and a larger number just north of it. By 1960, some black households lived on several formerly all-white blocks farther east between LaSalle Street and Lincoln Way West.

The other component of the West Zone in the early stages of racial transition in 1960 was Tract 5, south of Lincoln Way and north of Tract 21, between Walnut Street and Bendix Drive. The 1960 total population of the tract was 3,052, while the black residents numbered 362, or 11.9 percent of the total. The shape of Tract 5 is roughly that of a thin wedge with the wide end at the west and the narrowest point at its east end. In 1940 and 1950, there were black residents on most of the blocks in the eastern area, just northwest of the City Cemetery. This was also the case in 1960, except that two of these blocks now had black majorities.

The last census tract in the West Zone was Tract 1, lying on both sides of Lincoln Way West between Bendix Drive and the west city limits. There were no black residents among the nearly 3,000 persons living in this tract in 1960.

During the 1960's, South Bend's West Zone saw both a substantial loss in total population and a simultaneous increase in the number of black residents. The total population was 15,183 and the number of black inhabitants was 6,028. The West Zone was 39.7 percent black in 1970, up from the figure of 26.4 in 1960.

The patterns of black growth and overall population decline during the 1960's are also traceable in the intercensal changes in most of the five census tracts in the West Zone. The trend of overall population decline was more pronounced, for the most part, the closer the tract was to the central business district.

Tract 21 contained 3,462 residents in 1970. This represented a loss of one-fifth of the population that had been in the tract at the time of the 1960 census. The black population of 2,509 was actually a very minimal decrease from the 1960 figure of 2,538. Because of the large decline in the number of whites in the tract over the decade, the black percentage in Tract 21 rose from 58.7 in 1960 to 72.5 in 1970. The transition during the 1960's is reflected in the continuing turnover of blocks west of the City Cemetery in Tract 21 from racially mixed to predominantly black by the end of the decade.

Tract 20, west of downtown and south of Washington Street, underwent very significant racial change during the 1960's. The 1970 total population of the tract was

3,004, a loss of more than 800 persons in ten years. The black population in Tract 20 rose from 1,384 in 1960 to 1,765 ten years later. Blacks made up 36 percent of the tract population in 1960 and 58.8 percent in 1970. The geography of race in Tract 20 changed dramatically during the 1960's. The previously separate black areas west of Walnut Street and south of Western Avenue were in the process of merging by 1970 as the intervening blocks shifted from all-white to racially mixed or predominantly black.

North of Tract 20 and south of Lincoln Way West, the other near-downtown tract in the West Zone was in the earlier stages of a similarly large shift in racial composition. Tract 19 had a total population of 3,086 in 1970. This represented a loss of only about one-tenth of its 1960 total population during the decade, a much smaller loss than those sustained by Tract 20 and Tract 21 during the same period. The Tract 19 black population more than tripled from 345 in 1960 to 1,162 in 1970. The tract was 10.2 percent black at the start of the decade and 37.7 percent black in 1970. There were black households on most of the blocks in Tract 19 in 1970, with several predominantly black blocks south of the City Cemetery and one other to the northeast of it.

Tract 5, like Tract 19, only lost about one-tenth of its total population during the 1960's, and had a total population of 2,721 in 1970. The black population rose from 362 to 585 during the decade, with the black percentage standing at 11.9 in 1960 and 21.5 in 1970. There was a fairly gradual westward black population movement in Tract 5 during the 1960's. Two more predominantly black blocks appeared at the east end of the tract on the 1970 racial block map, and black residents now lived on many blocks as far west as Olive, as well as several even farther west.

Tract 1, southeast of the airport, was the only one of the five tracts in the West Zone unaffected by the significant demographic changes in the 1960's. The total population of the tract was virtually unchanged during the decade. The black population rose from zero to seven, with all of these individuals located in the Beacon Heights Apartments.

The decade from 1970 to 1980 saw accelerated population losses in South Bend's West Zone, with the total population decreasing by more than one-fourth and the number of blacks declining by one-sixth. In 1980, the total population of the zone was 11,209. This was nearly 4,000 lower than the 1970 total. There were 5,040 black residents in the West Zone in 1980, almost 1,000 fewer than ten years earlier. The West Zone black percentage was 39.7 in 1970 and 45.0 in 1980.

Tract 21 lost more than one-third of its total population during the 1970's, and the decline in the tract's black population was nearly as steep. There were only 2,135 residents in the tract in 1980, of whom 1,619 were black. The black percentage rose slightly from the 72.5 in 1970 to 75.8 in 1980. Some additional blocks in Tract 21 shifted from predominantly white to more than 50 percent black.

Tract 20, southeast of Tract 21, lost more than 700 residents during the 1970's, and the black population decreased by more than 200. The tract had 2,302 inhabitants in 1980, of whom 1,528 were black. The tract was 58.8 percent black in 1970 and 66.4 percent

black in 1980. The process of resegregation was well underway in Tract 20 by 1980, with only two residential blocks west of Chapin Street less than 50 percent black in that year. The ongoing process of merger of the once-separate West Washington Street and Western Avenue black communities was now essentially complete.

During the 1970's, the rapid population loss that had afflicted other inner city areas caught up with Tract 19. This near-downtown tract lost nearly 1,000 residents between 1970 and 1980. The black population also declined by more than 200 persons during this time. In 1980, the tract's total population was 2,126, and the black population was 919. While blacks had comprised 37.7 percent of the population in 1970, they made up 43.2 percent of the tract total in 1980. Blacks lived on nearly all of the blocks in Tract 19 and nearly one-half of all of the residential blocks in the tract had black majorities.

Tract 5 underwent increases in both overall population decline and racial transition during the 1970's. The 1980 total population was 2,294, which was a decrease of more than 400 persons over the previous ten years. The 1980 black population was 879, up from 585 ten years earlier. Blacks comprised 21.5 percent of the population of Tract 5 in 1970 and 38.3 percent in 1980. The demographic shift in Tract 5 over the decade is quite evident from inspection of the 1980 racial block map. Some blacks lived throughout the tract, some in the previously all-white blocks near Bendix Drive, and only a handful of residential blocks had no black residents. The number of blocks with black majorities in the tract rose from four in 1970 to 17 in 1980.

Tract 1, at the outer edge of the West Zone, lost nearly one-fifth of its population during the 1970's, and had a total of 2,352 residents at the time of the 1980 census. The black population rose from seven to 95 between 1970 and 1980. Roughly a dozen of the black residents of Tract 1 were scattered among four blocks, but the rest were concentrated in the Beacon Heights Apartments. Tract 1 was 4.0 percent black in 1980, up from 0.2 percent ten years earlier.

During the 1980's, the population of the West Zone continued to decline, though more slowly than had been the case during the previous decade. The zone's black population actually increased slightly between 1980 and 1990. The 1990 census revealed that the West Zone was over 50 percent black for the first time and that four of its five census tracts now had black majorities.

In 1990, South Bend's West Zone contained only 9,758 residents. This represented a loss of more than 1,400 inhabitants over the previous ten years, and the 1990 figure was scarcely more than half the 17,559 persons enumerated in the zone in 1960. The 1990 black population of the West Zone was 5,159, an increase of slightly more than 100 persons over the 1980 figure. While blacks made up 45.0 percent of the zone's total population in 1980, they comprised 52.9 percent in 1990.

Tract 21 continued its long-term decline in total population and its somewhat slower loss of black residents during the 1980's. Once the center of black commercial and institutional life in the city, this tract along the West Washington Street corridor had

dwindled to a total population of 1,849 in 1990. This was well under one-half of the population that had been in Tract 21 thirty years before. The 1990 black total was 1,467, slightly more than half of what that figure had been in 1960. Tract 21's 1990 black percentage was 79.3, a slight increase over the 1980 figure of 75.8. The pattern on the 1990 racial block map was essentially unchanged from that of 1980.

Tract 20, south of Washington Street and west of downtown, lost nearly one-third of its population during the 1980's. Its 1990 total population of 1,583 was more than 700 persons lower than the 1980 total. The 1990 black population of the tract was 1,090, well below the 1980 figure of 1,528. The black percentage in Tract 20 did increase slightly from 66.4 in 1980 to 68.9 in 1990. There was very little change in this area from the 1980 pattern on the 1990 South Bend racial block map.

South of Lincoln Way and west of the central business district, Tract 19 had both a small decline in overall population and a renewal of black growth during the 1980's. In 1990, the tract contained 1,985 residents of whom 1,078 were black. The black percentage of the total population rose to 54.3 in 1990, making this one of the two census tracts in the West Zone to become more than 50 percent black between 1980 and 1990. By 1990, more than one-half of the blocks in Tract 19 had black majorities.

A combination of continuing overall population loss and an increase of about 200 black residents gave Tract 5 a black majority for the first time in 1990. There were 2,132 residents in the tract in 1990, of whom 1,084 were black. The tract's black percentage rose from 38.3 in 1980 to 50.8 ten years later. The continued population shift from white to black in Tract 5 left most of the blocks east of Olive Street predominantly black in 1990, as well as three blocks farther west between Olive and Bendix Drive.

Tract 1, at the outer edge of the West Zone, had a relatively minor decline in its total population in the 1980's along with a sharp increase in its small black population. The 1990 total population was 2,209, and the black population was 440, or 19.9 percent of the total. Examination of the census block data reveals a highly uneven distribution of the now-sizable black population of Tract 1. While 51 of the black residents were scattered fairly evenly on predominantly white blocks on both sides of Lincoln Way, the remaining 389 were located on the blocks comprising the Beacon Heights Apartments, which were now predominantly black.

LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone

The fourth major subdivision in the present analysis is the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone, containing a half-dozen census tracts and stretching westward from Michigan Street to the city limits between the Conrail main line and another rail line parallel to West Indiana Avenue. The main east-west traffic arteries in this zone are Western Avenue and Sample Street.

Examination of the 1940 and 1950 racial block maps reveals a pattern of very limited

black occupancy, with most parts of the zone entirely white. The area open to black residence was north of Western Avenue from Olive Street on the east to Sheridan on the west.

In 1940, this neighborhood, called LaSalle Park, contained nine predominantly black blocks, a slightly larger number of mixed blocks, and others containing only white residents. The only other significant black populations in the LaSalle Park-Western Zone were at the east end around Prairie Avenue, surrounded by industry, and along south Main Street, a commercial area.

By 1950, most of the blocks in the LaSalle Park racially mixed area had shifted in composition to predominantly black. The blocks near the east and west ends of the neighborhood were still predominantly white. Sheridan and Western Avenue still stood as barriers to black expansion into the more affluent areas to the west and south. Far to the east, the black populations increased in the industrial area along Chapin Street and Prairie Avenue and near Main Street south of Sample in the near-downtown commercial area.

In 1960, the six census tracts of the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone contained a total of 21,201 residents. The 4,038 black inhabitants of the zone comprised 19.0 percent of the total. The level of segregation within this zone in 1960 was probably higher than in any of the other five zones defined for the present analysis. Roughly 98 percent of the blacks in the zone in 1960 resided in two census tracts, the one containing the original LaSalle Park black community and the one in which black occupancy was interspersed with industry and businesses. Of the remaining four tracts in the zone, two had no blacks at all and a third contained a single black resident.

The principal black population center in this zone in 1960 was Tract 23, encompassing the original LaSalle Park black area. This census tract is north of Western Avenue between Olive and Sheridan. During the 1950's the black population of this area continued to increase, and the 1960 racial block map reflects this. By 1960, only four blocks within the boundaries of Tract 23 were under 50 percent black. The 1960 total population of the tract was 3,524, and black residents numbered 2,974. Blacks made up 84.4 percent of the population in 1960, the highest black percentage in any South Bend census tract in that year.

The other major black concentration in this zone was in Tract 27, along Sample Street west of Michigan Street and east of Olive. In 1960, Tract 27 had a total population of 3,698, and its 978 black residents made up 26.4 percent of that total. Most of the black population was in the commercial-industrial area at the east end of the tract, with some others scattered in the mostly-white residential area farther west.

The remaining four tracts in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone contained small black populations or none at all in 1960. Tract 22, south of Western Avenue on both sides of Olive Street had 85 black residents, 2 percent of the total population. They were mostly concentrated on several blocks around the intersection of Sample and

Kaley.

There were no black residents in Tract 24, across Western Avenue to the south of the LaSalle Park black community in 1960. The same was true in Tract 25, across Sheridan to the west of this black neighborhood. South of Tract 25, Tract 26 had exactly one black inhabitant among the 3,980 persons living there in 1960.

Two contrasting processes took place in various parts of the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone during the 1960's. On the one hand, populations declined precipitously in the established black areas. On the other, significant black populations appeared in all of the neighborhoods in the zone that had none in 1960.

The total population of this zone fell from 21,201 in 1960 to 18,603 in 1970. The black population fell from 4,038 at the start of the decade to 3,302 in 1970, an even steeper decline than that undergone by the overall population. Blacks made up 19.0 percent of the zone's population in 1960 and 17.7 percent of the total in 1970. This was in some contrast to the long-term trend of an increasing black share of the population in the city of South Bend as a whole, as well as in most neighborhoods that had racially mixed populations in 1970.

More than one-half of the overall zone population loss took place in Tract 23, the principal black population center of the area. The total population of the tract dropped from 3,524 in 1960 to 1,927 in 1970. During the same period, the black population of Tract 23 fell from 2,974 to 1,627. Blacks made up 84.4 percent of the total population in 1970, unchanged from ten years before.

The steep population loss in Tract 23 during the 1960's was a direct result of the social distress that swept many poor urban neighborhoods in the United States during the decade. The tract was plagued by housing abandonment and fires during this time, with a resultant severe drop in population. The area also witnessed overt racial unrest in the form of sizable civil disturbances in the summer of 1966 and the summer of 1967.

The other center of black population in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone in 1960 was Tract 27. This tract suffered a substantial overall population loss, as well as the departure of virtually one-half of its black residents during the 1960's because of demolition of substandard housing as part of a slum clearance project.

The total population of Tract 27 fell from 3,698 in 1960 to 2,342 in 1970. There were 978 blacks in this census tract at the start of the decade and only 492 in 1970. The black percentage declined from 26.4 in 1960 to 21.0 in 1970.

The sharp black population losses in these two tracts were partly offset by black increases of more than 1,000 persons in the remainder of this zone, the cluster of four census tracts that had been nearly all white in 1960. Tract 22, south of Western Avenue along both sides of Olive Street, contained 305 black inhabitants in 1970. They made

up 7.9 percent of the total population in that year, up from 2.0 percent in 1960.

Tract 24, located west of Tract 22 and just across Western Avenue to the south of the original LaSalle Park black concentration, underwent an even more notable transformation during the 1960's. The tract, which had no black residents at all in 1960, contained 631 blacks in 1970. Blacks made up 17.2 percent of the total population of Tract 24 in 1970. In 1970, only about a half-dozen of the blocks in the census tract had no black households, and one block was more than 50 percent black.

The remaining two tracts in the zone had significant black populations in 1970. Tract 25, north of Western Avenue and west of Sheridan, had no black residents in 1960. In 1970, the 93 black residents made up 3.8 percent of the total population. Just across Western Avenue to the south, the black population of Tract 26 rose from one in 1960 to 154 in 1970. In the latter year, blacks comprised 3.5 percent of the population of the tract.

It should be noted at this point that the decade of the 1960's saw the rise of a significant new minority population in South Bend, one largely centered in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone. The largely Mexican Hispanic population grew roughly ten-fold between 1960 and 1970, and exceeded 900 persons at the latter date. A majority of these individuals, nearly 500 persons, lived in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone, mostly in Tract 27 and Tract 22.

Between 1970 and 1980, the total population of the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone declined from 18,603 to 15,427. The black population reversed its previous decline and rose from 3,302 in 1970 to 4,130 in 1980. The black percentage also rose from 17.7 at the start of the decade to 26.8 in 1980.

The population decline in Tract 23, the core of the principal black concentration in this part of the city, leveled off during the 1970's and the tract's black population had a very minimal increase. The 1980 total population was 1,811, and the black population was 1,658, or 91.6 percent of the total.

The population of Tract 27 continued to dwindle during the 1970's as more substandard housing was eliminated. In 1980, the total population was 1,441, and the black population was only 226. The black percentage in Tract 27 fell from 21.0 in 1970 to 15.7 in 1980.

Tract 22 lost over 800 residents during the 1970's, while the black population rose to 442. Blacks were 7.9% of the population in 1970 and 14.5% ten years later. Hispanics increased even more rapidly in numbers in Tract 22 during the 1970's and were nearly as numerous as blacks in 1980.

Tract 24, south of the original LaSalle Park black community, lost 600 residents during the 1970's. The 1980 black population was 936, and the black percentage of the overall

tract population was 30.4, up from 17.2 in 1970 and zero in 1960. Blacks now lived on every residential block in this census tract, and eight of these blocks were more than 50 percent black in 1980. Among the six census tracts in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone, Tract 24 was the one which was most clearly undergoing a process of racial transition between 1960 and 1980.

West of Sheridan and north of Western Avenue, Tract 25 was also changing in racial composition. In 1970, the black population had been 93, but in 1980 the figure had risen to 530. Tract 25 was 3.8 percent black in 1970 and 22.5 percent black in 1980.

South of Tract 25, the black population of Tract 26 rose from 154 in 1970 to 338 in 1980. The black percentage was 3.5 in 1970 and 9.2 in 1980. Black residents were widely distributed on predominantly white blocks in this tract. The one predominantly black area in the tract consisted of an apartment complex on the south side of Western Avenue.

The Hispanic population in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone nearly doubled during the 1970's, but was still less than one-fourth the size of the zone's black population in 1980. Most Hispanics in the zone still lived in Tract 22 and Tract 27, but were slightly outnumbered by blacks in both places in 1980.

Population losses in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone slowed during the 1980's. The 1990 total population of the zone was 14,116, or about two-thirds what the total had been in 1960. The 1990 black population was 4,199, minimally higher than the 1980 figure of 4,130. The black percentage in the zone was 29.7 in 1990, up from 26.8 in 1980.

The 1990 total population of Tract 23 was 1,612, less than one-half of what it had been 30 years earlier. The black population had dropped to 1,456 by 1990. Blacks made up 90.3 percent of the tract population in 1990, slightly down from the 1980 figure of 91.6 percent.

The total and black populations of Tract 27 were basically unchanged from 1980. The tract had 1,413 residents in 1990, of whom 221 were black. Blacks made up 15.6 percent of the tract population in 1990, virtually unchanged from the 1980 figure of 15.7 percent. One change of note, however, was that the Hispanic population of the tract exceeded the black population for the first time in 1990, and made up one-fifth of the tract population at the time of the 1990 census.

The Tract 22 black population rose to 588 in 1990, or 19.6 percent of the population. Hispanics were almost as numerous in 1990 in Tract 22.

Farther to the west on the south side of Western Avenue, the composition of Tract 24 continued to shift, albeit more slowly than was the case during the 1960's and 1970's. The tract had 2,897 residents in 1990, of whom 992 were black. In 1990, blacks made

up 34.2 percent of the population, up from 30.4 percent in 1980. The combined black and Hispanic population comprised more than 40 percent of the tract total in 1990. This was quite a transformation in a census tract that had no blacks and no Hispanics 30 years before.

The two westernmost tracts in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone showed a high degree of stability in regard to racial composition during the 1980's. North of Western Avenue in Tract 25, the black percentage was 22.5 in 1980 and 24.9 in 1990. The pattern on the racial block maps was also unchanged. All blocks in the tract were integrated except for one mostly black block in 1980 and 1990. To the south, Tract 26 was 9.2 percent black in 1980 and 13.9 percent black in 1990. The only predominantly black portion of Tract 26 in 1980 and 1990 was the apartment complex on the south side of Western Avenue.

Southwest Zone

The fifth of the six major regions into which South Bend was divided for the present analysis was the Southwest Zone. In approximate terms, this zone covers the part of South Bend lying south of Indiana Avenue and west of Main Street. Although the Southwest Zone covers a large area, it has the smallest population of any of the six zones in this study. A very high percentage of the land in the Southwest Zone is devoted to industrial, railroad, or park uses, or is undeveloped.

The 1940 and 1950 racial block maps reveal that scarcely a half-dozen blocks in the Southwest Zone had any black residents. Most of these mixed blocks were in the eastern portion of the zone near Indiana Avenue, although there were several integrated blocks farther west in 1950.

The 1960 enumeration was the first in which census tract data as well as block statistics were available for analyzing racial residential patterns in South Bend. In 1960 and at the time of the three subsequent censuses, the area defined here as the Southwest Zone was divided into two census tracts. Although the borders of the census tracts in the Southwest Zone and some other parts of South Bend were changed somewhat between 1960 and 1970, this is not a major methodological problem when census tracts are grouped into larger zones, as in the present analysis. Also, the tract boundaries for the city of South Bend have been largely unchanged since 1970, with the principal exception being the addition of territory to existing census tract when land outside the previous city limits is annexed to South Bend.

In regard to the Southwest Zone, it had a total population of 7,063 in 1960. The 523 black residents comprised 7.4 percent of the total in 1960. Most of the zone's black residents lived in the eastern half in Tract 34. This tract had 4,636 residents at the time of the 1960 census. The 487 black residents made up 10.5 percent of the population of Tract 34 in 1960. There were two predominantly black blocks in a small area of substandard housing north of Indiana Avenue and east of Prairie Avenue. There were roughly twenty other blocks with some black residents in 1960, concentrated mainly in

the northern edge of the tract near Indiana Avenue and at the eastern end near Franklin Street.

Tract 28 comprises the western portion of the Southwest Zone. In 1960, Tract 28 contained 2,427 residents. The 36 black residents comprised 1.5 percent of the 1960 tract population. These black residents were scattered among a handful of blocks, all of which were well to the east of Olive Street.

In 1970, the Southwest Zone contained 6,212 persons. During the 1960's, the zone lost more than one-tenth of its total population. On the other hand, the black population continued to increase. In 1970, the 597 black inhabitants made up 9.6 percent of the total population of the Southwest Zone. Tract 34 had 4,471 residents in 1970, of whom 570 or 12.7 percent were black. In 1970, the first three blocks east of Prairie Avenue on the north side of Indiana Avenue were over fifty percent black for the first time. The emergence of this small predominantly black area coincided with the demolition of most of the substandard housing just to the north. There were now black households living on nearly one-half of the blocks in Tract 34.

During the 1960's, both the total population and the black population of Tract 28 declined, although part of the change may have been due to the realignment of the boundary between Tract 28 and Tract 34 between the 1960 and 1970 censuses. The 1970 Tract 28 population was 1,741, with 27 blacks, who comprised 1.6 percent of the total. There were fewer than a dozen racially mixed blocks, none of which were west of Olive Street.

During the 1970's, the same demographic trends that were observed during the previous decade were quite evident: a substantial loss in terms of total population and an increase in the number of black residents. The zone's 1980 total population was 5,481, which meant that for the second decade in a row the Southwest Zone had lost more than one-tenth of its residents over a period of ten years. In contrast, the 1980 black population was more than fifty percent larger than the 1970 figure. The 906 black residents made up 16.5 percent of the total population of the Southwest Zone in 1980.

In the eastern part of the Southwest Zone, Tract 34 had 3,823 residents in 1980. The 613 blacks were 16.0 percent of the total population in that year. There were four blocks with black majorities in the tract in 1980, all on the north side of Indiana Avenue east of Prairie. There was a substantial amount of dispersal of the black population in the rest of the tract. By 1980 there were black households on well over one-half of the blocks in Tract 34.

Most of the significant demographic change in the 1970's in the Southwest Zone took place in its western part, Tract 28. This tract underwent greater than tenfold increases both in the number of black residents and the black percentage of the total population between 1970 and 1980. The 1980 total population was 1,658, not much lower than the 1970 total of 1,741. The 1980 black population of Tract 28 was 293, a very pronounced increase from the figure of 27 in 1970. The black percentage of the total population of

Tract 28 also rose sharply during the 1970's. Blacks made up 1.6 percent of the tract population in 1970 and 17.7 percent in 1980.

The racial residential pattern in Tract 28 underwent a comparable change during the 1970's. Where there had been a limited number of mixed blocks in an otherwise all-white area in 1960 and 1970, there was now a substantial transformation in the appearance of Tract 28 on the racial block map for 1980. In 1980, there were six blocks with black majorities, in two distinct clusters of three. There were now black residents on most of the blocks in Tract 28. Although most of the residents of the Southwest Zone of all races lived to the east in Tract 34, Tract 28 now had a slightly higher black percentage than Tract 34 because of its major demographic change during the 1970's.

During the 1980's, there was a significant slowing of both of the population trends that had been conspicuous during the two previous decades in the Southwest Zone. The 1990 total population was 5,137. While this represented a continued decline since the 1960 enumeration, it was the first time in three intercensal periods that the total population of the zone had not fallen by more than ten percent. In 1990, the black population of the Southwest Zone was 965, a comparatively small increase over the 1980 black population of 906. The 1990 black percentage in the zone was 18.8, up slightly from 16.5 in 1980.

Both census tracts mirrored the overall zonal tendencies of the 1980's, although one had a very slight decrease in the number of black residents between 1980 and 1990. Tract 34 had a 1990 total population of 3,612, down from 3,823 in 1980. The tract's black population rose from 613 in 1980 to 676 in 1990, with the black percentage of the total population increasing from 16.0 in 1980 to 18.7 ten years later. The residential pattern was largely unchanged in 1990 from the 1980 population distribution. In 1990, there were four predominantly black blocks on the north side of Indiana Avenue, and most of the remaining blocks in Tract 34 had some black inhabitants.

Tract 28 contained 1,525 residents in 1990, down from a 1980 total population of 1,658. There were 289 blacks in the tract in 1990, a very small decline from the 293 reported in the 1980 census. Because of the steeper decline in the overall population, the black percentage in Tract 28 rose slightly from 17.7 in 1980 to 19.0 in 1990. The residential pattern was largely unchanged from 1980, with a half-dozen blocks with black majorities and most other blocks racially integrated.

It should be mentioned that after 1970, significant numbers of Hispanics moved into the Southwest Zone, especially Tract 34. However the number of Hispanics in 1980 was less than one-third the number of blacks, and in 1990 the number of Hispanics was still less than one-half the number of blacks.

Southeast Zone

The last of the six major areas of South Bend utilized in the present analysis is the

Southeast Zone. It is a large and populous area stretching from the south edge of the central business district down to Ireland Road roughly between Michigan Street on the west and Ironwood Road on the east. The seven census tracts contain all but the outermost major neighborhoods in South Bend south of the downtown area and the river east of Michigan Street.

The Southeast Zone is a diverse cross section of the city of South Bend. At least in regard to single-family housing, a trip southward from the business district involves an ascent both in regard to actual altitude and in the affluence of the neighborhood as the traveler approaches the Twyckenham Hills. Portions of the Southeast Zone have also experienced processes that have become major themes in twentieth century American urban history: racial transition, severe neighborhood deterioration with its attendant steep loss of population, and restoration of blighted areas.

The first census block statistics for South Bend were published after the 1940 enumeration. Examination of the 1940 racial block map derived from that data reveals a near-total absence of black occupancy in the Southeast Zone, even in the neighborhoods closest to downtown South Bend. There were two racially mixed blocks in the near-downtown neighborhood east of Michigan Street and north of Sample. Both were located in the southern part of the area, on the north side of Sample Street but several blocks apart. The only other mixed blocks in the Southeast Zone in 1940 were in the neighborhood immediately south of Sample Street east of Michigan. One of these two blocks was at the southeast corner of Michigan and Sample and the other was two blocks east at the southeast corner of Fellows and Sample. Each of these blocks was across the street from one of the two integrated blocks in the first-mentioned near-downtown neighborhood north of Sample Street.

Other than the four integrated blocks in the two areas along Sample Street, the Southeast Zone was virtually all-white in 1940. The existence of such a large expanse of neighborhoods without black residents should not be surprising given the context of the city of South Bend in 1940. The 3,555 black inhabitants made up only 3.5 percent of the city's total population. Also, there was a fairly high level of residential segregation in the city in 1940, with most blacks living in or near three areas of concentration on the West Side or a fourth mixed area northeast of the central business district on both sides of Eddy Street. Other vast sections of the city nearly devoid of minority residents in 1940 included the Northwest Side, which received many black residents in subsequent decades, and the portion of the East Side south of Jefferson Boulevard, which did not.

The 1950 racial block map shows that most parts of the Southeast Zone remained totally white, as had been the case ten years earlier. There were, however, very early hints of future demographic trends in the blocks near Sample Street. In 1950, there were eleven blocks with black residents in the Southeast Zone, up from four in 1940. As in 1940, all of these blocks were in the two neighborhoods closest to downtown South Bend. Three of these blocks were north of Sample Street and not adjacent to each other. However, the other eight blocks with mixed populations formed a contiguous pattern,

extending east from Michigan Street south of Sample along Ohio and Keasey. These blocks were still predominantly white, and the overall neighborhood even more so, but the coherent pattern of racially mixed blocks just south of Sample Street in 1950 represents the very early stage of growth of what would subsequently become an important black population concentration.

The 1960 census data for South Bend included census tract statistics for the first time, as well as the block statistics, which have been published for South Bend since the 1940 enumeration. The seven census tracts which comprise the Southeast Zone had a total of 30,218 persons in 1960. The 1,423 black residents made up 4.7 percent of the 1960 zone population. The distribution of this black population among the seven census tracts of the Southeast Zone was highly uneven. Of the 1,423 black residents in the zone in 1960, all but 22 lived in the two northernmost tracts, which covered the two near-downtown neighborhoods that had contained all of the very few racially integrated blocks in the Southeast Zone in 1940 and 1950.

The principal center of black population in the Southeast Zone in 1960 was Tract 29, lying south of Sample Street. In 1960, this tract had 4,976 residents, of whom 1,144, or 23.0 percent, were black. Because of the importance of this tract in modern local urban history, a methodological note on boundary changes is in order at this point. In South Bend's first set of census tract boundaries in 1960, Tract 29 was given the boundaries of Sample Street on the north, Miami Street on the east, Indiana Avenue on the south, and Franklin Street on the west. A boundary change was made before the 1970 census, after which the revised boundaries of Tract 29 have remained stable for the 1970, 1980, and 1990 enumerations. The boundary change that was made before 1970 was the transfer of the westernmost twelve blocks from Tract 29 to Tract 27. These 12 blocks, bounded by Michigan, Indiana, Franklin, and Sample, contained 871 residents in 1960 and had a racial composition approximately the same as Tract 29 as a whole. Thus, the 1960 total population for the area designated Tract 29 for the 1970 census and all subsequent enumerations was 4,105 persons.

The transformation of a major portion of the neighborhood south of Sample Street during the 1950's is evident from inspection of the 1960 racial block map. In 1950, there had been eight integrated blocks in a narrow belt south of Sample. In 1960, nearly the entire portion of Tract 29 between Sample and Pennsylvania west of High Street and east of Michigan was racially mixed. Two of the blocks had black majorities and nearly a score of others were integrated. There were two integrated blocks between Pennsylvania Street and Indiana Avenue, but Pennsylvania itself was a racial boundary, with all of the blocks on its north side mixed and all of the blocks stretching along the south side of the street entirely white.

Most of the remaining 1960 black population in the Southeast Zone was in Tract 17, north of Sample and east of Michigan. Located north of Tract 29 and south of the central business district, this tract covered the other neighborhood which had some mixed blocks in 1940 and 1950. Tract 17 had a total population of 2,688 in 1960 and its 257 black residents made up 9.6 percent of the total tract population. There were nine

extending east from Michigan Street south of Sample along Ohio and Keasey. These blocks were still predominantly white, and the overall neighborhood even more so, but the coherent pattern of racially mixed blocks just south of Sample Street in 1950 represents the very early stage of growth of what would subsequently become an important black population concentration.

The 1960 census data for South Bend included census tract statistics for the first time, as well as the block statistics, which have been published for South Bend since the 1940 enumeration. The seven census tracts which comprise the Southeast Zone had a total of 30,218 persons in 1960. The 1,423 black residents made up 4.7 percent of the 1960 zone population. The distribution of this black population among the seven census tracts of the Southeast Zone was highly uneven. Of the 1,423 black residents in the zone in 1960, all but 22 lived in the two northernmost tracts, which covered the two near-downtown neighborhoods that had contained all of the very few racially integrated blocks in the Southeast Zone in 1940 and 1950.

The principal center of black population in the Southeast Zone in 1960 was Tract 29, lying south of Sample Street. In 1960, this tract had 4,976 residents, of whom 1,144, or 23.0 percent, were black. Because of the importance of this tract in modern local urban history, a methodological note on boundary changes is in order at this point. In South Bend's first set of census tract boundaries in 1960, Tract 29 was given the boundaries Sample Street on the north, Miami Street on the east, Indiana Avenue on the south, and Franklin Street on the west. A boundary change was made before the 1970 census, at which the revised boundaries of Tract 29 have remained stable for the 1970, 1980, and 1990 enumerations. The boundary change that was made before 1970 was the transfer of the westernmost twelve blocks from Tract 29 to Tract 27. These 12 blocks, bounded by Michigan, Indiana, Franklin, and Sample, contained 871 residents in 1960 and had racial composition approximately the same as Tract 29 as a whole. Thus, the 1960 total population for the area designated Tract 29 for the 1970 census and all subsequent enumerations was 4,105 persons.

The transformation of a major portion of the neighborhood south of Sample Street during the 1950's is evident from inspection of the 1960 racial block map. In 1950, there had been eight integrated blocks in a narrow belt south of Sample. In 1960, nearly the entire portion of Tract 29 between Sample and Pennsylvania west of High Street and east of Michigan was racially mixed. Two of the blocks had black majorities and nearly a score of others were integrated. There were two integrated blocks between Pennsylvania Street and Indiana Avenue, but Pennsylvania itself was a racial boundary with all of the blocks on its north side mixed and all of the blocks stretching along the south side of the street entirely white.

Most of the remaining 1960 black population in the Southeast Zone was in Tract 17, north of Sample and east of Michigan. Located north of Tract 29 and south of the central business district, this tract covered the other neighborhood which had some mixed blocks in 1940 and 1950. Tract 17 had a total population of 2,688 in 1960 and 257 black residents made up 9.6 percent of the total tract population. There were no

racially mixed blocks in Tract 17 in 1960, none of which had a black majority.

Tract 30 is south of Indiana Avenue and west of Miami. It had 3,908 residents in 1960, of whom 16, or 0.4 percent, were black. The black population was located on the first two blocks east of Michigan on the south side of Indiana Avenue. This was the closest part of Tract 30 to the racially changing Tract 29 just to the north.

East of Miami and north of Ewing there were two blacks in a total population of 4,961 in Tract 31. South of Tract 31 in the Twyckenham Hills, Tract 32 numbered four black residents in a total population of 5,472.

South of Ewing and west of Miami, Tract 33 had a total population of 3,967 and no black residents. South of Tract 33 and north of Ireland Road, Tract 35 contained 4,246 inhabitants in 1960, and its black population was also zero.

Between 1960 and 1970 the Southeast Zone lost more than one-tenth of its total population and its northern portion underwent significant racial transition. The zone had a total population of 26,976 in 1970. This represented a loss of more than three thousand persons during the previous decade. The 1970 black population was 3,247, or 12.0 percent of the total. While the total zone population declined during the 1960's, its black population more than doubled. The concentration of the zone's black residents in its northwest section, that is, the part closest to downtown South Bend, was still so pronounced that only 29 of the zone's 3,247 blacks lived outside of the three tracts nearest the central business district in 1970.

Tract 29 remained the focus of black settlement in the Southeast Zone in 1970. The tract total population was 3,586 in 1970, significantly lower than the 1960 total. The black population rose rapidly during the 1960's and stood at 2,071 at the end of the decade. The black percentage in Tract 29 rose from 23.0 in 1960 to 57.8 in 1970. This transition was reflected in the pattern on the 1970 racial block map. Most blocks north of Pennsylvania Street in Tract 29 were predominantly black in 1970, as was the case with four blocks south of Pennsylvania and one east of High Street. Nearly all remaining blocks in the tract had some black residents.

North of Tract 29, the near-downtown Tract 17 lost nearly one-fourth of its total population during the 1960's. The total tract population stood at 2,057 in 1970. In contrast, the black population of Tract 17 more than tripled during the decade. There were 257 black inhabitants in the tract in 1960 and 810 in 1970. The black percentage in Tract 17 rose from 9.6 in 1960 to 39.4 ten years later. A half-dozen blocks in this tract were more than fifty percent black, and most of the remaining residential blocks had some black households.

The other tract in the Southeast Zone with a significant black population in 1970 was Tract 30, across Indiana Avenue to the south of Tract 29. Tract 30 lost one-tenth of its total population during the 1960's and had 3,513 inhabitants in 1970. The number of

blacks in the tract rose from 16 in 1960 to 337 ten years later. Blacks were 0.4 percent of the tract population in 1960 and 9.6 percent of the 1970 total. The racial residential pattern in Tract 30 in 1970 was consistent with a somewhat diffuse expansion of the growing Tract 29 black population to the north. Two blocks on the border with Tract 29 were integrated in 1960. By 1970, more than one-half of the blocks in Tract 30 were racially mixed, although they were all less than 50 percent black. The integrated blocks were found throughout Tract 30 in 1970, although they were more numerous in the northern part of the tract.

There were eleven blacks in Tract 31 in 1970, six in Tract 32 and eleven in Tract 33. Each of these tracts had several racially mixed blocks. Tract 35 had one black inhabitant in 1970.

Between 1970 and 1980 the Southeast Zone suffered an unprecedented population loss, with even steeper declines in both total and black population in its innermost census tracts as blight, fire, and housing abandonment combined to produce this result.

The Southeast Zone had a total population of 21,775 in 1980. The zone lost more than five thousand inhabitants between 1970 and 1980. Between 1960 and 1980 the Southeast Zone had lost more than one-fourth of its total population. In 1980, the zone's black population was 2,499, a sharp drop from the 3,247 black residents in the Southeast Zone in 1970. There was also a slight decline in the Southeast Zone's black percentage, from 12.0 percent in 1970 to 11.5 percent in 1980.

Between 1970 and 1980 more than one-half of the Southeast Zone's loss of more than five thousand persons fell in only two of its seven census tracts, although the other five lost population as well.

Tract 29, just south of Sample Street, was one of the two tracts with the sharpest population losses in the zone during the 1970's. The tract's total population plummeted from 3,586 in 1970 to 1,851 in 1980. The tract's black population was virtually halved during the decade, falling from 2,071 in 1970 to 1,038 in 1980. The black percentage of the total population in Tract 29 fell slightly from 57.8 in 1970 to 56.1 in 1980. In 1980 most of the blocks in Tract 29 were more than 50 percent black. There was an increase in the number of predominantly black blocks in the southern part of the tract north of Indiana Avenue, while some other blocks fell below 50 percent black during the 1970's, due either to housing abandonment or the replacement of black households by members of a small but growing Hispanic element in the tract.

Just to the north of Sample Street, Tract 17 lost half of its total population and more than 60 percent of its black population during the 1970's. The total number of residents plunged from 2,057 in 1970 to 1,008 in 1980. Tract 17 had 810 black residents in 1970 and only 298 a decade later. The black share of the tract's total population was 39.4 percent in 1970 and 29.6 percent in 1980. There were still five predominantly black blocks east of Fellows Street and most of the other residential blocks had black residents, but fewer and fewer people of all races called this neighborhood home in the

closing decades of the 20th century.

The sharp decline in minority population in these two blighted tracts was partially offset by black growth in the other five tracts of the Southeast Zone. This was particularly true of Tract 30, across Indiana Avenue to the south of Tract 29. This tract was in the path of most likely outward black movement from the areas of earlier settlement nearer Sample Street. In fact, the black population of Tract 30 rose steadily after 1960. There were 16 black residents in the tract in 1960, 337 in 1970, and 728 in 1980. Blacks had comprised 9.6 percent of the total tract population in 1970 and they made up 24.1 percent in 1980. This occurred in the context of an overall population loss of more than 500 persons in the 1970's. The 1980 total population of Tract 30 was 3,025. Only about a dozen blocks in Tract 30 were still all white in 1980. Most blocks in all parts of the tract had black residents, and three of these blocks were over 50 percent black in 1980.

Across Miami Street to the east of the principal minority areas of the Southeast Zone, Tract 31 received a significant influx of new black households during the 1970's. The number of blacks rose from 11 in 1970 to 185 in 1980. In 1980, blacks comprised 4.9 percent of the population of Tract 31. The 1980 total population of this tract was 3,775. The tract had lost nearly 700 residents in the 1970's, on top of a prior loss of 500 inhabitants during the 1960's. In terms of the geography of the black increase in Tract 31, about one-half of the blocks west of Twyckenham had some black residents. There were fewer integrated blocks east of Twyckenham.

There were black increases in the other three tracts in the Southeast Zone in the 1970's, mostly scattered, but with one exception. Tract 32 in the Twyckenham Hills had six black residents in 1970 and 83 in 1980. Blacks comprised 1.4 percent of the tract population in 1980 and were found on nearly a score of blocks.

Tract 33, west of Miami and south of Ewing, had 11 black residents in 1970 and 46 in 1980. In 1980, they made up 1.5 percent of the tract population and resided on a dozen scattered racially mixed blocks.

Farther south in Tract 35, the black population rose from one in 1970 to 121 ten years later. In 1980, blacks made up 3.8 percent of the total population in Tract 35. Although a half dozen blocks in Tract 35 had some black residents in 1980, more than a hundred resided in a single large apartment complex.

During the 1980's the total population of the Southeast Zone declined at a much slower rate than was the case during the two previous decades. In 1990, the total population of the zone was 20,382, compared to 21,775 in 1980. The loss of less than seven percent of the zone's population during the 1980's was the slowest intercensal drop for any of the three decades since 1960.

There was a slight increase in the black population of the Southeast Zone between 1980

and 1990 after the major black population drop of the 1970's. The 1990 black population of the zone was 2,588, up from 2,499 in 1980. The Southeast Zone was 12.1 percent black in 1990, up from 11.5 percent black in 1980. Black gains during the 1980's in the other five census tracts offset continuing declines in the two northernmost tracts in the Southeast Zone.

Among the individual census tracts, Tract 29 fell to a new low total population of 1,461 in 1990. The black population of 800 in 1990 and the 54.8 percent black share of the total population in that year were continuing declines from the 1980 black population of 1,038 and the 1980 black percentage of 56.1.

Across Sample Street to the north, Tract 17 fell to a new low in total population, and the number of black residents in 1990 was actually lower than it was in 1960. Tract 17 had a total population of 756 in 1990, less than one-third of what its population had been in 1960. The 1990 black population was 206. This was a decline from the 1980 black total of 298 and even fell below the 1960 black total of 257. Blacks made up 27.2 percent of the total population of Tract 17 in 1990, down slightly from the 1980 black percentage of 29.6.

While the racial residential pattern south of Sample Street in Tract 29 was visually little different from that of 1980, this was definitely not the case with Tract 17 on the north side of Sample. During the 1980's the southern half of the tract, between Bronson and Sample, was cleared of the remaining substandard housing and designated for industrial use. The roughly one dozen surviving residential blocks north of Bronson included three with black majorities, and most of the rest were racially mixed.

The loss of fully two-thirds of the total population of Tract 17 and Tract 29 between 1960 and 1990 stands out as one of the largest and most prolonged episodes of urban decay in the history of South Bend. It surpasses the crisis in LaSalle Park during the 1960's, as well as less dramatic declines in near west neighborhoods. The near southeast depopulation is a graphic local example of the same processes that have been at work on a grand scale destroying much of the housing stock in inner city neighborhoods in New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, and elsewhere.

Just to the south of Tract 29, Tract 30 lost more than 400 residents in the 1980's, while its black population grew slightly. The 1990 total population of Tract 30 was 2,596, and the black population rose to 763, a slight increase over the 1980 black total of 728. Tract 30 was 29.4 percent black in 1990, up from 24.1 percent black in 1980.

A significant pattern of residential succession in Tract 30 can be seen on the 1990 racial block map. In 1980, the tract had three blocks with black majorities. In 1990, there were 11 such blocks. Five of these new blocks with black majorities formed a row on the east side of Michigan from Indiana Avenue down to Bowman Street. By 1990, there were black families residing on all but a handful of the remaining residential blocks in Tract 30.

The remaining four tracts in the Southeast Zone all had increases in black population in the 1980's, with the number of black residents more than doubling in three of the four tracts.

East of Miami, south of the St. Joseph River, the black population of Tract 31 rose from 185 in 1980 to 231 in 1990. The tract's black percentage went from 4.9 in 1980 to 6.2 in 1990. There was little increase in the number of racially mixed blocks in Tract 31 between 1980 and 1990.

Tract 32, in the Twyckenham Hills, had 83 black residents in 1980 and 183 ten years later. The black percentage in the tract rose from 1.4 in 1980 to 3.2 in 1990. In 1990, the black population of Tract 32 was scattered among roughly 30 blocks.

South of Ewing and west of Miami Street, the black population of Tract 33 was 117 in 1990, up from 46 in 1980. The tract was 1.5 percent black in 1980 and 3.7 percent black ten years later. There were about two dozen racially mixed blocks in this tract in 1990, with the highest concentration in its northwest corner.

South of Tract 33, the black population of Tract 35 rose from 121 in 1980 to 288 in 1990. The black percentage increased from 3.8 percent in 1980 to 9.8 percent in 1990. Although there were roughly a dozen mixed blocks in this tract in 1990, three-fourths of the black population lived in a single large apartment complex. This had also been the case in 1980, the first census year in which there were significant numbers of blacks in Tract 35.

Hispanics

The history of South Bend's Hispanic population is one of rapid growth over a span of very few decades. Hispanics were roughly one-tenth of one percent of the city's population in 1960, yet by 1990, one out of every thirty residents of the city of South Bend was of Hispanic heritage.

Prior to any discussion of census data for Hispanics, a fairly extensive methodological explanation is in order. There is little difficulty in comparing census racial data from different enumerations for blacks because the definition of that particular group has remained relatively unchanged through the years. Official categories for the counting of Hispanics, on the other hand, have, unfortunately, been changed every decade or every other decade until an apparently definitive scheme came into use in the 1980 census. In 1940 and 1950, the Census Bureau had the category "Mexican foreign-born white" as the Hispanic population indicator. This was clearly inadequate in that it missed Hispanics who were not born in Mexico, all Hispanics born in the United States, and those Hispanics who were not white.

The 1960 and 1970 census statistics were an improvement in widening the share of Hispanics who appeared in the results of those two enumerations. The terms "Mexican

stock" and "Puerto Rican stock" covered the immigrant generation and the first generation born in this country of those two groups of whatever race. In 1970, there was also an attempt to count the overall Hispanic population. "Persons of Spanish language" and "Persons of Spanish mother tongue" were two categories in the 1970 publications. The latter term is preferable from the standpoint of reliability because some non-Hispanics misunderstood subcategories of the former and erroneously reported themselves as Hispanics on their census forms. The 1980 census introduced the term "Spanish origin" as the overall Hispanic indicator. The nationality indicators were expanded to all generations. "Mexican origin," "Puerto Rican origin," and "Cuban origin" cover all persons of these respective ethnicities, not just the immigrants and their children. This arrangement was continued for the 1990 census.

The 1980 categories offer the best picture of the American Hispanic population because of the all-inclusive definitions. Also, if the Census Bureau continues to use the 1980 definitions in future censuses, a large body of comparable data will be built up that will allow comparative studies spanning a number of decades. The repeated changes in Hispanic definitions prior to 1980 made comparison of populations figures for a given locality very difficult for time spans of only 20 or even ten years. By adhering to a consistent set of definitions in the future, the Census Bureau can make it as easy for scholars to work with this information as they can with black population data from numerous successive censuses.

The 1960 census was the first with published census tract data from South Bend. Hispanic population indicators can be found in the 1960 census at the tract level, but not for individual city blocks. The two categories for Hispanics in the census were Mexican stock and Puerto Rican stock. Because of the lack of published 1960 statistics for other Hispanic nationalities and the absence of a category including all Hispanics, it is necessary to approximate the latter figure by means of adding the Mexican stock and Puerto Rican stock populations for the city of South Bend and for the individual census tracts to get the total Hispanic population for the area in question. Of course, such a calculation is probably low to an unknown degree, given that South Bend probably had a few Cubans, Central Americans, South Americans and third generation persons of Mexican origin in 1960.

However inadequate the statistics for this census might be, the 1960 enumeration found 46 persons of Mexican stock and 46 persons of Puerto Rican stock in the city of South Bend. Thus, the known Hispanic population of South Bend in 1960 was 92. This meant that Hispanics were approximately one-tenth of one percent of the 132,445 inhabitants of South Bend in 1960.

In terms of the six zones into which South Bend was divided for the present analysis, Hispanics resided in five of these zones, and formed a negligible percentage of the overall population in all five in which they were found (see Table 12). Eight Hispanics lived in the Northwest Zone, 21 in the Northeast zone, 29 in the West Zone, and 14 in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone. There were no Hispanics in the Southwest Zone and 20 in the Southeast Zone. The highest Hispanic percentage was 0.2 in the

West Zone.

At the level of individual census tracts, Tract 1, west of Bendix Drive and south of Lincolnway West, was 1.0% Hispanic in 1960. Tract 33, south of Ewing Street in the southeastern part of the city, was 0.5% Hispanic at the time of the 1960 enumeration. No other census tract was more than 0.3% Hispanic. In fact, 27 of the 35 census tracts in the city of South Bend had no Hispanics in 1960.

The two Hispanic groups were not equally distributed among the eight census tracts in which they resided in 1960. Five of these tracts had persons of Mexican stock but no Puerto Ricans. Two census tracts had Puerto Ricans but no Mexicans, and one had members of both groups. Census tracts with only Mexicans included Tract 2, Tract 10, Tract 16, Tract 22 and Tract 27. The first of these five tracts was on the Northwest side and the next two were east of the St. Joseph River. None of these three tracts has become heavily Hispanic in the census returns in the 30 years since 1960. Tract 22 and Tract 27, adjacent and southwest of the central business district, had the highest Hispanic percentages in the city in 1990.

Many of the 46 Puerto Ricans in South Bend in 1960 were divided between two widely separated census tracts. There were four persons of Puerto Rican stock in Tract 7, west of the St. Joseph River and north of Lincolnway West. Another Puerto Rican concentration consisted of 20 persons residing in Tract 33, south of Ewing between Main Street and Miami. However, the largest number of Puerto Ricans in a single census tract in 1960 was in Tract 1, west of Bendix Drive and south of Lincolnway West. This tract, the one in the city with representatives of both Hispanic groups, had 22 Puerto Ricans and seven persons of Mexican stock.

Between 1960 and 1970, the measurable Hispanic population, according to the less than satisfactory census indicators, grew tenfold in the city of South Bend. Also, although there were notable increases in five of the six zones utilized in this analysis of South Bend, one in particular absorbed over one half of the city's Hispanic growth during the 1960's and stood preeminent as the center of population for this group in 1970.

The 1970 Hispanic population of South Bend consisted of 929 persons of Spanish mother tongue. Ten years earlier the combined Mexican and Puerto Rican stock populations, the only available approximation of an overall Hispanic total for South Bend for 1960, amounted to 92 persons.

The nationalities within the Hispanic population were counted using the same definition in 1970 as in 1960. The term "stock" applied to the immigrant generation and their American-born children. One Hispanic ethnicity became preeminent during the 1960's. There were 46 persons of Mexican stock in South Bend in 1960 and 324 in 1970. Puerto Rican stock increased from 46 to 59 persons between 1960 and 1970. The newly-differentiated category of Cuban stock, with 66 members in South Bend in 1970, was now the second most important in the overall Hispanic group in the city in that year.

Five of the six zones in South Bend used in the present analysis had their Hispanic populations increase at least fivefold between 1960 and 1970. Nevertheless, only one zone was more than 1% Hispanic in 1970, and the city as a whole was 0.7% Hispanic.

The lowest rate of Hispanic population increase during the 1960's was in the West Zone, where the Hispanic population rose from 29 in 1960 to 51 in 1970. During the same period, the Hispanic population increased from eight to 40 in the Northwest Zone, from 21 to 114 in the Northeast Zone, and from 20 to 208 in the Southeast Zone. The Southwest Zone's Hispanic population rose from zero to 22 between 1960 and 1970.

By far the largest Hispanic increase in any of the six zones in terms of absolute numbers during the 1960's took place in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone. The Hispanic population of the zone increased from 14 in 1960 to 488 in 1970. Hispanics had comprised 0.1% of the total population of the zone in 1960 and 2.6% of the population in 1970. The LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone absorbed a majority of the Hispanics who were added to South Bend's population during the 1960's, and contained more than one-half of the persons of Spanish mother tongue in the city in 1970.

In 1970, the city of South Bend contained 42 census tracts. There were persons of Spanish mother tongue in 28 of these census tracts, persons of Mexican stock in 14 tracts, persons of Cuban stock in three, and Puerto Ricans in two.

Only two census tracts, adjacent to each other and west-southwest of the central business district, had sizable Hispanic percentages in 1970. Tract 27 was 7.7% Hispanic, the highest share of the total population for the group of any census tract in South Bend in 1970. The second highest Hispanic percentage was in Tract 22, where persons of Spanish mother tongue made up 3.9% of the total population in 1970. Only seven other South Bend census tracts were as much as 1.0% Hispanic in 1970. In the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone, site of the two most heavily Hispanic tracts in 1970, Tract 23 and Tract 24 were more than 1% Hispanic in 1970. Four census tracts in the Southeast Zone were also at least 1% Hispanic at this time. They were Tract 17, Tract 29, Tract 30 and Tract 35. In the Northeast Zone, Tract 10 was 1% Hispanic in 1970.

The various nationalities were not uniformly distributed within areas of Hispanic residence in South Bend in 1970. By returning to the level of the six major geographic zones used in this analysis, it can be seen that the Mexican, Cuban and Puerto Rican stock populations all had areas in which they were the principal element in the overall Hispanic population.

In the Northeast Zone, there were 39 persons of Cuban stock and six of Mexican stock in 1970. The West Zone had 47 Puerto Ricans and 11 persons of Mexican stock in the same year. The Southeast Zone had 76 Mexicans, 27 Cubans and 12 Puerto Ricans, the only instance in 1970 in which all three of the ethnic groups were represented in the census statistics for any of the six zones.

The LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone received the largest number of new Hispanic residents of any of the six zones during the 1970's, but its share of the citywide increase was only about one-fourth between 1970 and 1980, compared to more than one-half of South Bend's Hispanic growth during the 1960's. Instead of accounting from more than one-half of the city's Hispanic population as it had at the time of the 1970 census, this zone held slightly more than one-third of South Bend's Hispanics in 1980. The 1970 Hispanic population of the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone was 488 and the 1980 population for the group was 917. The Hispanic percentage for the zone was 2.6 in 1970 and 5.9 ten years later.

The Southwest Zone Hispanic population increased from 22 in 1970 to 269 in 1980. Hispanics made up 0.4% of the total population of the zone in 1970 and 4.9% in 1980. The Southeast Zone held 208 persons of Spanish mother tongue in 1970 and 488 persons of Spanish origin at the time of the 1980 census. The Hispanic percentage in this zone was 0.8 in 1970 and 2.2 in 1980.

At the census tract level of analysis, it was quite clear that there was a wide dispersal of Hispanics throughout South Bend in 1980. Hispanics resided in 41 of the 44 census tracts in the city at the time of the 1980 enumeration. Only three tracts with small total populations had no Hispanic inhabitants in 1980. The Hispanic percentages were highest in a belt of five census tracts extending west and south of the central business district and covering portions of the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone, the Southwest Zone and the Southeast Zone. Tract 27 was 14.5% Hispanic in 1980 and Tract 22 was 12.8% Hispanic. These two tracts, both located in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone, had the two highest Hispanic percentages of any South Bend census tracts in 1980. Another of the five high-percentage Hispanic census tracts in the zone was Tract 24, 6.8% Hispanic in 1980. Tract 34, in the Southwest Zone, was 5.8% Hispanic. In the Southeast Zone, persons of Spanish origin comprised 7.2% of the total population of Tract 29 in 1980. Besides these five census tracts that were 5.0% or more Hispanic, 24 other tracts were at least 1.0% Hispanic in 1980.

City block statistics, which included Hispanic population data for the first time in 1980, further confirmed the group's widespread dispersal into all areas of South Bend by the time of the 1980 enumeration. There were Hispanics living on more than 500 city blocks in South Bend in that year. Thus, in 1980 a population that comprised only 2.4% of all South Bend inhabitants was distributed among more than one-fourth of all residential blocks in the city. Furthermore, only a single city block was more than 50% Hispanic. This meant that in 1980, virtually all persons of Spanish origin in South Bend lived on blocks in which non-Hispanics made up a majority of all residents. This pattern differed greatly from that found in larger cities in which Hispanics comprised a major share of the overall population.

In several tracts of South Bend's LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone, Hispanics reside on one-half or more of all occupied blocks in the census tract in question. This was true of Tract 22, Tract 24 and Tract 27. These were three of the five census tracts in the city that were more than 5% Hispanic in 1980.

A measure of the dispersal of Hispanics in South Bend in 1980 is the fact that 24 of the 44 census tracts in the city had at least ten blocks with Hispanic inhabitants. As previously mentioned, the Hispanic population was so widely scattered in 1980 that only a single block in the entire city of South Bend was more than 50% Hispanic. This block was not, as might have been expected, in one of the heavily-Hispanic census tracts previously described, but in mostly-black Tract 21 at the corner of Washington and Birdsell.

Within the Hispanic population in South Bend in 1980, the predominance of Mexican heritage was even greater than had been the case in prior censuses. Of the city's 1980 total Spanish origin population of 2,594, the Mexican origin category accounted for 2,056 persons, nearly four-fifth of all Hispanics in South Bend. Persons of Puerto Rican origin numbered 98, and there were 24 individuals of Cuban origin. There were also 416 persons in the residual category "other Spanish origin."

Mexican dominance within the overall Hispanic population was uneven, as measured using the six zones employed in the present study, in different parts of South Bend in 1980. At one extreme, persons of Mexican origin comprised less than three-fifth of the overall Hispanic population in the Northeast Zone. On the other hand, in 1980, Mexicans made up more than 90% of all Hispanics in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone and nearly 90% of Hispanics in the Southwest Zone.

One last measure of the dispersion of Hispanics throughout South Bend in 1980 is the presence of the various Hispanic nationalities in the city's 44 census tracts. Persons of Spanish origin were found in 41 of the 44 census tracts in South Bend in 1980. Persons of Mexican origin lived in 40 census tracts and Puerto Ricans resided in 28 different tracts. Even the very small Cuban origin population, 24 persons in all, was scattered among 11 census tracts in 1980.

Between 1980 and 1990, South Bend's Hispanic population increased by nearly 1,000 persons. The pattern of dispersal of Hispanics throughout the city continued, although a nucleus of predominantly Hispanic blocks appeared within the zone in which the group had been most concentrated in 1970 and 1980 (see Map 4).

South Bend's Hispanic population stood at 3,546, according to the 1990 census. The 1980 figure had been 2,594 persons of Spanish origin. In 1990, the city was 3.4% Hispanic, up from 2.4% Hispanic in 1980.

Hispanic growth continued in all six of the major zones in South Bend delineated for the present study, although the high rates of increase during previous decades did not persist into the 1980's. The Northwest Zone contained 441 persons of Spanish origin in 1990, up from 283 ten years earlier. Hispanics had comprised 1.5% of the zone's total population in 1980. The percentage was 2.3 in 1990. The Hispanic population in the Northeast Zone increased from 372 in 1980 to 489 at the time of the 1990 census. The Hispanic share of this zone's total population rose from 1.2 to 1.7% between 1980 and 1990.

A measure of the dispersal of Hispanics in South Bend in 1980 is the fact that 24 of the 44 census tracts in the city had at least ten blocks with Hispanic inhabitants. As previously mentioned, the Hispanic population was so widely scattered in 1980 that only a single block in the entire city of South Bend was more than 50% Hispanic. This block was not, as might have been expected, in one of the heavily-Hispanic census tracts previously described, but in mostly-black Tract 21 at the corner of Washington and Birdsell.

Within the Hispanic population in South Bend in 1980, the predominance of Mexican heritage was even greater than had been the case in prior censuses. Of the city's 1980 total Spanish origin population of 2,594, the Mexican origin category accounted for 2,056 persons, nearly four-fifth of all Hispanics in South Bend. Persons of Puerto Rican origin numbered 98, and there were 24 individuals of Cuban origin. There were also 416 persons in the residual category "other Spanish origin."

Mexican dominance within the overall Hispanic population was uneven, as measured using the six zones employed in the present study, in different parts of South Bend in 1980. At one extreme, persons of Mexican origin comprised less than three-fifth of the overall Hispanic population in the Northeast Zone. On the other hand, in 1980, Mexicans made up more than 90% of all Hispanics in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone and nearly 90% of Hispanics in the Southwest Zone.

One last measure of the dispersion of Hispanics throughout South Bend in 1980 is the presence of the various Hispanic nationalities in the city's 44 census tracts. Persons of Spanish origin were found in 41 of the 44 census tracts in South Bend in 1980. Persons of Mexican origin lived in 40 census tracts and Puerto Ricans resided in 28 different tracts. Even the very small Cuban origin population, 24 persons in all, was scattered among 11 census tracts in 1980.

- Between 1980 and 1990, South Bend's Hispanic population increased by nearly 1,000 persons. The pattern of dispersal of Hispanics throughout the city continued, although a nucleus of predominantly Hispanic blocks appeared within the zone in which the group had been most concentrated in 1970 and 1980 (see Map 4).

South Bend's Hispanic population stood at 3,546, according to the 1990 census. The 1980 figure had been 2,594 persons of Spanish origin. In 1990, the city was 3.4% Hispanic, up from 2.4% Hispanic in 1980.

Hispanic growth continued in all six of the major zones in South Bend delineated for the present study, although the high rates of increase during previous decades did not persist into the 1980's. The Northwest Zone contained 441 persons of Spanish origin in 1990, up from 283 ten years earlier. Hispanics had comprised 1.5% of the zone's total population in 1980. The percentage was 2.3 in 1990. The Hispanic population in the Northeast Zone increased from 372 in 1980 to 489 at the time of the 1990 census. The Hispanic share of this zone's total population rose from 1.2 to 1.7% between 1980 and 1990.

There was a relatively small Hispanic numerical increase in the West Zone during the 1980's. There were 215 persons of Spanish origin in the West Zone in 1980, and the 1990 figure was 241. The Hispanic percentage in the zone was 1.9 in 1980 and 2.5 in 1990.

Roughly three out of every ten Hispanics added to South Bend's population during the 1980's were found in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone. This zone had 1,200 Hispanic residents in 1990, up from 917 in 1980. The zone was 5.9% Hispanic in 1980 and 8.5% Hispanic in 1990. The LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone had led the other five zones both in number of Hispanic persons and in Hispanic percentage of total zone population in 1970, 1980 and 1990.

The Hispanic population in the Southwest Zone increased from 269 in 1980 to 382 ten years later. Persons of Spanish origin comprised 4.9% of the zone's population in 1980 and 7.4% in 1990. In 1980 and 1990, this zone had the second highest Hispanic percentage among the city's six zones.

The last of the six zones is the Southeast Zone with a 1990 Hispanic population of 648. The zone had contained 488 persons of Spanish origin in 1980. The Southeast Zone was 2.2% Hispanic in 1980 and 3.2% Hispanic in 1990.

At the census tract level, Hispanics resided in 43 of the city's 44 tracts in 1990. The only census tract without any persons of Spanish origin was at the southernmost edge of South Bend and contained fewer than 50 residents, all of whom were non-Hispanic whites. In 1990, 39 of the 44 South Bend census tracts were at least 1% Hispanic. Eight of these tracts were more than 5% Hispanic in 1990.

The eight census tracts over 5% Hispanic formed a continuous belt across most of the city south of Western Avenue down to Ewing Street and even farther south in places. There were three of these heavily Hispanic census tracts in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone, three in the Southeast Zone, and two in the Southwest Zone. The two census tracts with the highest Hispanic percentages in South Bend in 1990 were both in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone. Tract 27 had the highest percentage of persons of Spanish origin in the city. The tract was 20.3% Hispanic in 1990. Tract 27 was also the only census tract in South Bend in which Hispanics were more numerous than blacks. Nearby Tract 22 was 18.3% Hispanic in 1990, the second highest Hispanic share of the total population in any South Bend tract in 1990. Tract 22 had 549 Hispanic residents, the most in any South Bend census tract in 1990. In 1980, Tract 22 also had the highest number of persons of Spanish origin in the city, 391. One other census tract in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone was over 5% Hispanic. Persons of Spanish origin comprised 7.5% of the total population of Tract 24 in 1990.

The census tract with the third-highest Hispanic percentage in South Bend in 1990 was Tract 29, in the Southeast Zone. Tract 29 was 11% Hispanic at the time of the 1990 census. Also in the Southeast Zone and across Sample Street to the north of Tract 29, Tract 17 was 7.8% Hispanic in 1990. This third census tract in the Southeast Zone with

a high Hispanic percentage lay south of Tract 29. Tract 30 was 5.7% Hispanic in 1990.

The remaining two census tracts over 5% Hispanic were in the Southwest Zone. Persons of Spanish origin made up 8% of the total population in Tract 34 and 6.1% of the Tract 28 total in 1990.

It is at the city block level that the dispersion of South Bend's Hispanic population throughout the city in 1990 becomes most evident. There was a net increase of more than 100 residential blocks with Hispanic inhabitants between 1980 and 1990. The distribution of Hispanics among well over 600 city blocks in South Bend in 1990, only 12 of which were over 50% Hispanic, meant that a group that made up only 3.4% of the city's population was scattered among more than one-third of South Bend's residential blocks in 1990.

The more than 600 blocks with Hispanic inhabitants were not distributed in a totally random fashion. Five census tracts in the belt of heavily Hispanic tracts south and west of the central business district had Hispanic residents on half or more of their blocks. These census tracts were Tract 22, Tract 24 and Tract 27 in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone, and Tract 28 and Tract 34 in the Southwest Zone.

There were also census tracts with very low numbers of blocks containing persons of Spanish origin. These fell into two categories at opposite ends of the socio-economic spectrum. Some of these census tracts were higher income white areas, while others were very low income, predominantly black neighborhoods. The upper income census tracts with few Hispanics were east of the St. Joseph River and in the far southeastern part of the city. Two tracts with black majorities and few Hispanics were located west of downtown South Bend and a third was southeast of the central business district.

Most census tracts fell between the extremes of having Hispanics on most of their blocks or on almost none as described above. It should be noted that 28 of the 44 census tracts in South Bend had ten or more residential blocks with Hispanic inhabitants in 1990.

In 1980, there had been only one block in South Bend that was more than 50% Hispanic. In 1990, there were 12 such blocks. The evidence provided by the location of these 12 blocks concerning the future emergence of a barrio--an extensive, predominantly Hispanic area--is somewhat mixed. Roughly one-half of these blocks with Hispanic majorities were scattered among older South Bend neighborhoods with relatively small numbers of persons of Spanish origin. However, most of the remaining predominantly Hispanic blocks were clustered in a very limited area in the two census tracts with the highest 1990 Spanish origin percentages in South Bend.

The scattered blocks with Hispanic majorities in 1990 included the lone block in this category in 1980, at Washington and Birdsell in mostly black Tract 21. There was one other block in which Hispanics were a majority in Tract 21, but this was far to the west

of the block previously mentioned, south of Bendix Park. Single blocks that were more than 50% Hispanic were found in Tract 6, to the northwest of downtown South Bend, on Eddy Street in Tract 10, and on Michigan Street in Tract 29, southeast of the central business district. The last-mentioned block was in the northern part of Tract 29, away from its Hispanic concentration south of Pennsylvania Street.

The remaining seven blocks with Hispanic majorities were in census tracts with high Hispanic percentages and five of them made up the previously mentioned concentration. One of these seven blocks with Hispanic majorities in 1990 was west of Main Street south of Ewing, at the edge of the main residential area of Tract 34, where there were some Hispanics on more than one-half of all residential blocks. Another lone block more than 50% Hispanic in 1990 was in Tract 22, south of Western Avenue several blocks east of Olive Street. Nearly all of the surrounding blocks had some Hispanic residents.

The remaining five blocks with Hispanic majorities in 1990 comprise the first census evidence of the emergence of a predominantly Hispanic neighborhood, however small, in South Bend. Four of these blocks form a contiguous pattern along Harris Street and Walnut Street south of Western Avenue in Tract 22. The fifth Hispanic majority block was nearby at the southwest corner of Ford and Walnut in Tract 27. Some Hispanics resided on most of the blocks to the west and south of this cluster of predominantly Hispanic city blocks, and the two census tracts in question had the highest percentage of persons of Spanish origin in the city in 1990. To put these developments in context, however, it should be stated that in 1990 roughly four-fifths of the inhabitants of Tract 22 and Tract 27 were non-Hispanics.

In regard to national origin, there was little change in the composition of South Bend's Hispanic population between 1980 and 1990. Persons of Mexican origin comprised nearly four-fifths of all Hispanics in both years. Puerto Ricans made up about 4% of all Hispanics and Cubans were roughly 1% in 1980 and 1990. The zonal differences in the distribution of nationalities within South Bend's Hispanic population persisted between 1980 and 1990. Persons of Mexican origin made up slightly more than one-half of all Hispanics in the Northeast Zone, the lowest Mexican share of the total Spanish origin population in any of the six zones used in the present analysis. The Northeast Zone also had more Puerto Ricans, 45, and more Cubans, 14, than any of the other five zones.

In contrast to the more cosmopolitan makeup of the Northeast Zone Hispanic population, nearly 90% of persons of Spanish origin in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone and the Southwest Zone were of Mexican origin in 1990. This was essentially unchanged from the composition of the Hispanic population in those two zones in 1980.

Persons of Mexican origin were roughly two-thirds of all Hispanics in the Northwest Zone and three-quarters of all persons of Spanish origin in the West Zone and the Southeast Zone in 1990.

area data became available with the release of the first census tract report for the area as part of the 1960 census.

Although the "other races" population information is available for the greater South Bend area by census tract for 1960 and 1970, a more detailed breakdown into component racial groups was only published for entire cities and St. Joseph County. It is possible to approximate a total Asian population for South Bend for 1960 or 1970 by adding appropriate component racial groups contained in the "other races" total for the city for the year in question. This would be done by adding Japanese, Chinese, Filipino and the residual "all other" persons to get an Asian population statistic. The American Indian population would be excluded from the calculation.

The 1980 and 1990 censuses provided greatly improved Asian population statistics, both in terms of definitions and by extending the publication of Asian data to the census tract and city block level. The category used in 1980 and 1990 was "Asian and Pacific Islander." In the 1980 census tract statistics, this population was further divided into nine subcategories. The 1990 census tract report contains 15 subgroups for "Asian or Pacific Islander."

The actual census statistics for South Bend in 1940 suggest that the Asian population in the city was extremely small at the time of that enumeration. In 1940, South Bend had a total population of 101,268, and the Census Bureau classified 51 of those persons in the "other races" category. Because the category included American Indians, it may not be assumed that this population was entirely Asian.

The 1950 census information for Asians in South Bend was also restricted to a citywide total of persons of "other races." The "other races" population amounted to 93 persons in 1950, out of South Bend's total of 115,911 residents. Once again it is not possible to determine how many of the "other races" persons were Asians and how many were American Indians. In 1950, as had been the case in 1940, the "other races" group comprised less than one-tenth of one percent of the total population of South Bend.

The 1960 census brought some improvement in the population statistics dealing with Asians. The 1960 citywide "other races" total for South Bend was broken down into a number of racial groups, and "other races" totals were included in the census tract report for the South Bend metropolitan area.

In 1960, the city of South Bend contained 214 persons who had been classified as belonging to the "other races" category. After the subtraction of the American Indian subcategory, the sum of the remaining racial groups provides a reasonably reliable measure of South Bend's Asian population in 1960. This calculation amounted to 182 persons, or one-tenth of one percent of the 132,445 inhabitants of the city in 1960. Persons in four racial categories comprised the 182 Asians in this computation. There were 44 Japanese, 78 Chinese, 14 Filipinos, and 46 members of a residual "all others" classification.

The 1960 census tract statistics were not broken down beyond the basic three-way division of white, black and "other races". However, given this preponderance of Asians over American Indians within the "other races" population, a brief review of the "other races" distribution among the city's census tracts may be helpful in approximating Asian residential patterns in South Bend in 1960.

The 1960 distribution of South Bend's "other races," as measured using the six zones defined for the present study, was highly uneven. The zonal totals were 26 "other races" persons in the Northwest Zone, 88 in the Northeast Zone, 12 in the West Zone, 21 in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone, 8 in the Southwest Zone, and 48 in the Southeast Zone. The other 11 "other races" persons in South Bend in 1960 were in the census tract containing the central business district, which was not included in any of the six zones.

There were "other races" individuals in 31 of South Bend's 35 census tracts in 1960. The largest number of persons in this racial category was 37 in Tract 9, along the east bank of the St. Joseph River across from the downtown area. However, in this tract and all but one other in the city, the "other races" population was less than one percent of the total tract population. The only census tract in which this group exceeded one percent of the total population in 1960 was the central business district Tract 18, in which "other races" made up 1.2% of all residents.

The 1970 census provided the same definitions and coverage of the Asian population of the South Bend metropolitan area that the 1960 enumeration had. The city had a 1970 "other races" population of 673, more than three times the 1960 figure of 214 persons. After the 1970 American Indian population was subtracted from the "other races" total, a remainder of 526 Asians was left. Asians comprised 0.4% of the city's total population in 1970. The Asian population of South Bend had nearly tripled in ten years from the 1960 figure of 182 persons.

Among the four subgroups that comprised South Bend's 1970 Asian population, there were 80 Japanese, 132 Chinese, 43 Filipinos, and 271 members of the residual "all others" category.

As in 1960, the above detailed breakdown of "other races" was not extended to the census tract level. However, because of the continuing numerical dominance of the Asian elements within the larger "other races" category, there is still merit in analyzing South Bend's "other races" census tract data to obtain an impression of the Asian residential pattern in the city.

"Other races" populations increased between 1960 and 1970 in all of the six zones into which South Bend was divided for the present study. In fact, the number of "other races" persons at least doubled in five of the six zones during the 1960's. However, "other races" made up less than one percent of the total population in all six zones both in 1960 and 1970. The "other races" populations by zone in 1970 were 116 in the Northwest Zone, 260 in the Northeast Zone, 53 in the West Zone, 112 in the LaSalle

Park-Western Avenue Zone, 38 in the Southwest Zone, and 88 in the Southeast Zone. This distribution continued the 1960 pattern of greatest "other races" concentration in the Northeast Zone and nearby areas. There was a sharp increase in this population group in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone at the opposite end of the city, where "other races" persons increase from 21 in 1960 to 112 in 1970.

In 1970, persons in the "other races" category resided in 39 of the 41 populated census tracts in the city of South Bend. "Other races" made up one percent or more of the total population in Tract 3.02 and Tract 110 in the Northwest Zone, Tract 9 and Tract 10 in the Northeast Zone, and Tract 22 and Tract 23 in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone. Tract 10, covering neighborhoods on both sides of Eddy Street, had an "other races" percentage of 1.6, the highest in South Bend in 1970. This census tract also had the largest number of persons in this category, 83, of all of the census tracts in the city. Two other northeastern census tracts bordering Tract 10 had sizable "other races" populations. There were 37 such persons in Tract 11, east of Tract 10. This was the third-highest "other races" count among South Bend census tracts. Just east of the river, Tract 9 had 34 "other races" persons in 1970, placing it in fourth place in terms of numbers of such persons. In 1960, with somewhat different boundaries, Tract 9 had the most "other races" persons of any census tract in the city. In 1970, the census tract that had the second-highest number of "other races" persons was Tract 22, in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone. This tract had an "other races" population of 47 in 1970.

The 1980 census brought two important improvements in Asian population data. First, Asians were listed separately from American Indians in the census tract statistics, as well as in the aggregate racial breakdowns for entire counties and cities. The second improvement was the inclusion of Asian population information in block statistics for the first time in 1980. At the county, city and census tract levels the 1980 Asian population statistics were further subdivided into nine racial or nationality subcategories.

South Bend's Asian population declined from 526 persons in 1970 to 500 in 1980. However, because the city's total population fell at an even higher rate during this period, the Asian share of the total actually rose from 0.4% in 1970 to 0.5% in 1980.

The 1980 census divided the Asian population into nine racial or nationality subcategories. It is a measure of the lack of dominance in terms of numbers of any single Asian subgroup that six of them had at least 50 members in South Bend in 1980. There were 120 Chinese, 101 Vietnamese, 83 Asian Indians, 66 Japanese, 63 Filipinos, and 52 Koreans within the city's Asian population.

The breakdown of the 1980 South Bend Asian population among the six zones was highly uneven, and in roughly the same pattern that the "other races" groups had exhibited in 1960 and 1970, with the largest concentration in the Northeast Zone (see Table 12). The 1980 zonal populations for Asians in South Bend were 105 in the Northwest Zone, 230 in the Northeast Zone, 28 in the West Zone, 11 in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone, 21 in the Southwest Zone, and 74 in the Southeast Zone.

The 1980 census tract Asian statistics included the nine subcategories. The major nationalities within the Asian population were widely distributed in all parts of the city, with no specific group, i.e., Japanese, predominating in any extensive part of South Bend. Some members of most of the principal Asian groups were found in all six zones in 1980.

At the census tract level, Asians resided in 39 of South Bend's 44 tracts in 1980 (see Table 13). Only three of these census tracts, all at the northern edge of the Northeast Zone, were more than 1% Asian. Tract 112, east of the St. Joseph River north of Angela Blvd., was 2.7% Asian. Tract 113.01 was 2.1% Asian, and the group made up 1.1% of the population of Tract 11. Tract 113.01 was north of Edison Road, while Tract 11 adjoined it on the south side of Edison. In terms of numbers, Tract 11 had the most Asians in South Bend in 1980, 61 persons. Tract 113.01 was in second place with 43 Asian inhabitants. Tract 10, just to the west of Tract 11, had 35 Asians in 1980, the third highest total for this category among South Bend census tracts.

The 1980 census was the first enumeration to extend the coverage of Asians to the city block level. Asians lived on 192 residential blocks in 1980. This was a high degree of dispersal for such a small population. Asians comprised one-half of one percent of the total population of South Bend in 1980, yet they were found on more than 10% of all of the residential blocks in the city. A further indication of the low level of segregation of Asians in South Bend in 1980 was the fact that Asians were the majority on only one of the 192 blocks where they lived. This block was in Tract 18 in the downtown area.

The distribution of blocks with Asian residents by zone roughly reflected the pattern of the number of Asian persons per zone in 1980. The number of blocks with Asian inhabitants in 1980 was 38 in the Northwest Zone, 75 in the Northeast Zone, 11 in the West Zone, 6 in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone, 12 in the Southwest Zone, and 36 in the Southeast Zone.

Of the 39 census tracts with Asian-occupied blocks in South Bend in 1980, only five had ten or more such blocks. Two of these were in the portion of the Northeast Zone with the most Asian residents. Tract 10 had 14 blocks with Asian inhabitants, while Tract 11 had 15.

Between 1980 and 1990, South Bend's Asian population rose from 500 to 916. The Asian percentage of the city's total population was 0.5 in 1980 and 0.9 in 1990. the number of races or nationalities within the "Asian or Pacific Islander" category was expanded from 9 to 15 between the 1980 and 1990 enumerations. Otherwise, Asian census definitions and extent of coverage, i.e., city blocks, were unchanged from 1980 to 1990. Among the most numerous Asian groups in South Bend in 1990 were 178 Asian Indians, 171 Chinese, 99 Vietnamese, 91 Cambodians, 86 Filipinos, 68 Japanese, 61 Koreans, and 40 Laotians. One-fourth of all of the Asians in South Bend in 1990 were from the Southeast Asian nationalities--Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians--which had been negligible elements in the United States Asian population 30 years earlier.

Measured by the six zones into which South Bend was divided for the present study, Asian population growth in the city continued to be uneven, with the Northeast Zone containing even a higher percentage of all Asians in 1990 (see Map 5). In 1990, there were 149 Asians in the Northwest Zone, 455 in the Northeast Zone, 22 in the West Zone, 41 in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone, 29 in the Southwest Zone, and 159 in the Southeast Zone. Asian populations increased during the 1980's in five of the six zones, more than doubling in the Northeast Zone, the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone, and the Southeast Zone. The West Zone Asian population declined from 28 to 22 during the 1980's. The various nationalities were widely distributed in South Bend in 1990, so no one Asian group was uniquely identified with any specific neighborhood. Both the intermingling of the Asian nationalities in South Bend's neighborhoods and their small numbers in the city have meant that no distinctive Asian neighborhoods have developed according to the pattern that arose decades ago in cities on the West Coast. The recent arrival of most of South Bend's Asian groups in a part of the United States lacking intense biases against people from that part of the world has also lessened the likelihood of the emergence of a Chinatown, Nihonmachi (Japantown), or Little Saigon near the banks of the St. Joseph River.

At the census tract level, as in 1980, Asians resided in 39 of the 44 tracts in South Bend in 1990. Asians were at least 1.0% of the population in 13 census tracts in 1990, of which eight were in the Northeast Zone. Tract 113.01, north of Edison Road in the Northeast Zone, had the highest Asian percentage of all, 5.0. This tract also led in terms of number of Asian residents in 1990 with 87. The adjacent Tract 11 was second in number of Asians with 84. To the west of Tract 11, Tract 10 was third in regard of number of Asians with 66 in 1990.

At the city block level, the dispersal of Asians, although uneven in terms of zones, was still quite evident. Asians lived on 280 residential blocks in South Bend. They formed the majority of the population on only one of these blocks, located in Tract 15 just west of the campus of Indiana University at South Bend.

The distribution of blocks with Asian residents by zone reflected the zonal representation of Asian persons in 1990. There were 43 such blocks in the Northwest Zone, 118 in the Northeast Zone, 10 in the West Zone, 16 in the LaSalle Park-Western Avenue Zone, 11 in the Southwest Zone and 66 in the Southeast Zone.

Asians made up less than 1% of South Bend's total population in 1990, yet they lived on one-seventh of all of the residential blocks in the city, a notable level of dispersal within the general population. Of the 38 census tracts with Asian-occupied residential blocks, ten had ten or more such blocks. Tract 10 and Tract 11, in the Northeast Zone, each had 20 blocks with Asian residents, the highest 1990 Asian-occupied block counts among South Bend census tracts.

It should be noted that despite containing nearly one-half of all of South Bend's Asians in 1990, the Northeast Zone was only 1.6% Asian in that year. The city's Asians were clearly intermingled residentially with South Bend's overall population.

Chapter 3

Mishawaka

South Bend and Mishawaka first appeared in the census returns as incorporated municipalities in the 1850 enumeration. Their total populations were extremely modest, with South Bend containing 1,652 persons in 1850 and Mishawaka having 1,412 residents that year.

The parity in total population between South Bend and Mishawaka in 1850 disappeared during the next decade. In 1860, Mishawaka had 1,488 residents, a minimal increase in ten years, while South Bend's total population had risen to 3,832, more than twice the 1850 figure. As South Bend attracted more commerce, more population, and the lion's share of the new large industries later in the 19th century, its status as the most populous municipality in St. Joseph County was more evident with each new census. South Bend had a majority of all county residents by 1890, and had more than six times as many residents as Mishawaka in 1890 and 1900.

Mishawaka, however, had its own surges of growth during the early decades of the 20th century, and corresponding increases in commercial activity and industrial production. The first big population jump in Mishawaka in this century was during its first decade. The number of residents in the city rose from 5,560 in 1900 to 11,886 in 1910. A near-doubling of the city population took place during the prosperous 1920's. Mishawaka had 15,195 inhabitants in 1920 and 28,630 in 1930.

Population growth rates in Mishawaka since 1930 have been far below the two examples cited above, but, with the exception of a very small population loss during the 1930's, the city has registered a net population gain at each new census. It should be noted that much of the population increase in Mishawaka after 1960 has taken place in parts of the city annexed since the 1960 census. Proof of this is found in the 1990 census tract data. Of the 42,608 residents in the city of Mishawaka in 1990, 29,489 lived in the original seven census tracts that closely correspond to the 1960 city limits. The remaining census tracts, which approximate the land annexed to the city after 1960, contained 13,119 inhabitants in 1990. Two trends are evident from these statistics. First, the neighborhoods comprising Mishawaka in 1960 lost more than one-tenth of their population during the next 30 years. This is not unusual for older urban neighborhoods, and has many parallels locally in areas throughout the city of South Bend. The second trend is the tendency of the population of Mishawaka to shift outward into the areas annexed after 1960. In 1990, roughly three out of ten Mishawaka residents lived in neighborhoods that were not even in the city limits 30 years earlier.

For all of the slowing of its population growth rate since 1930, Mishawaka has increased in relative importance among the various jurisdictions in St. Joseph County in recent

years. In contrast, after reaching an all-time peak population in 1960, South Bend has lost residents during all three of the subsequent intercensal decades. Because of these losses, South Bend no longer contained a majority of all residents of St. Joseph County after the 1970 census. Mishawaka, on the other hand, has kept growing since 1960 and has attracted a major share of the retail business activity in the county during the past two decades. Because of its importance within the metropolitan area, the Census Bureau recognized Mishawaka as a "central city," in effect co-equal with South Bend, within the South Bend-Mishawaka Metropolitan Area in 1990. As such, as well as because of its distinctive municipal identity, Mishawaka is deserving of scrutiny in any study that seeks to make a comprehensive examination of racial residential patterns in St. Joseph County.

It should be stated at the outset as a methodological note that there are even more limitations in attempting to create a multi-decade portrait of Mishawaka than there are for the same examination of South Bend to delineate racial residential patterns. Census city block statistics for South Bend were first published in connection with the 1940 census, and have been produced by the Census Bureau after every subsequent enumeration. Census tract data for the entire South Bend metropolitan area have been published for every decennial enumeration starting with the 1960 census. Because of a Census Bureau policy until after the 1960 census of only publishing block statistics for individual cities with 50,000 or more residents, there are no block statistics for Mishawaka for 1940, 1950 or 1960. City block coverage began with the 1970 count, when the block statistics were published for entire urbanized areas. This policy of broader coverage has continued with the 1980 and 1990 censuses, ensuring the availability of this information for Mishawaka on an ongoing basis.

Census tract statistics for Mishawaka began at the same time as for South Bend, with the 1960 tract report covering the entire metropolitan area. As was the case with South Bend, there were some major changes in census tract boundaries in Mishawaka between 1960 and 1970. From 1970 on, however, tract boundaries for Mishawaka have been more stable, with changes mainly occurring because of the annexation of land to the city.

Blacks

In 1940, the city of Mishawaka had a total population of 28,298. The black population in 1940 amounted to 51 persons, or two-tenths of one percent of the city population in that year. Because of the limitations in the census data for 1940 for the city of Mishawaka, it is not possible to find the exact blocks where the black inhabitants resided.

In 1950, the total population of Mishawaka was 32,913. The black population of 137 made up four-tenths of one percent of the city's total population. The South Bend area, like most other centers of industry in the Midwest, received a substantial number of black migrants from the South during the 1940's as the rise of defense production reversed the economic stagnation of the 1930's. The 1950 black populations of both

South Bend and Mishawaka were both more than twice what the respective 1940 figures had been. Mishawaka's black population actually increased at a higher rate than that of South Bend, although the 1940 base number of Mishawaka blacks was a minuscule 51 persons.

As was true in regard to the 1940 census, the absence of published census tract or city block data for Mishawaka in the statistics for the 1950 enumeration precludes a detailed spatial analysis of the location of black Mishawaka residents.

In 1960, Mishawaka had a total population of 33,361. This figure represented an increase of fewer than 500 persons since the 1950 census. The 1960 black population was 183, up from 137 in 1950. Blacks made up five-tenths of one percent of the city's population in 1960, marginally higher than the 1950 black percentage. In 1960, the census data for Mishawaka allowed some analysis of the spatial distribution of the city's black population because it was now included in the system of census tracts covering all of St. Joseph County (see Table 14, 15, and 16).

The 1960 census tract report for the South Bend metropolitan area provides the population breakdown by race for Mishawaka by dividing the city into seven census tracts. There were five tracts south of the St. Joseph River and two more covering the portion of the city lying north of the river.

Tract 101 lay south of the St. Joseph River and was bounded on the west by Ironwood Road, Mishawaka's boundary with South Bend, and on the east by West Street. The 1960 population of 7,034 included 36 blacks. Tract 102, containing Mishawaka's central business district, lay east of Tract 101 and was bounded on the east principally by Laurel Street. This tract had 5,282 residents of whom 85, or 1.6%, were black in 1960. This was the only tract in the city more than 1% black. Tract 103, between Laurel and Byrkit south of the river, had 11 blacks among 3,969 inhabitants. Tract 104, east of Tract 103, had 2,400 residents in 1960, all of whom were white. The easternmost census tract south of the river, in the Twin Branch area, was Tract 105. This tract had a 1960 total population of 2,701, of whom 26 were black.

Black percentages in the two tracts north of the river were even lower in 1960. Tract 106, east of Logan Street, the boundary with South Bend north of the St. Joseph River, had 20 blacks out of 7,552 residents. Farther east, Tract 107 had five blacks in the total population of 4,423 in 1960.

The 1970 census was the first enumeration for which block statistics were published for Mishawaka. This was part of the Census Bureau's policy after 1960 to extend block statistics from the former restriction to cities of 50,000 or more to inclusion of entire urbanized areas. Thus, Mishawaka, as well as the built-up suburban ring on all sides of South Bend, has been included in the published block data for the 1970, 1980 and 1990 censuses.

Two issues arise in regard to the analysis of racial residential patterns in Mishawaka after 1960. The first is the realignment of the boundaries of all seven of the census tracts that comprised Mishawaka in 1960. The other is the annexation of new territory to the city of Mishawaka after 1960 and the effect of the housing in these annexed areas on the racial composition of the city since 1960.

In regard to the census tract boundary changes after 1960, each of the seven Mishawaka census tracts in existence at the start of the decade underwent a change in its borders during the 1960's that artificially inflated or depressed its population in the 1970 census tract statistics. This makes the comparison of 1960 and 1970 total population figures for Mishawaka's census tracts impossible. Fortunately, the boundaries used in 1970 have remained stable in the 1980 and 1990 census tract reports. Thus, after 1970 the population comparisons from one census to the next for Mishawaka's first seven census tracts may be validly made, with the caution that Tract 103 gained land and residents through annexation after the 1970 census.

The other major issue in the analysis of racial housing patterns in Mishawaka after 1960 is the emergence of new neighborhoods outside the original seven census tracts with sizable populations. Two major residential zones began to develop, an area of better single-family homes at the south edge of the city, and a section containing extensive apartment complexes to the north of the older North Side neighborhoods. The latter area stands out distinctively from the older Mishawaka neighborhoods and the southern belt of more costly homes in its racial composition, with the differences becoming more pronounced at the time of each new census from 1970 to 1990.

Mishawaka had 35,517 residents in 1970, a gain of over 2,000. The number of blacks, however, fell from 183 in 1960 to 107 in 1970. Blacks were only three-tenths of one percent of the total population in 1970. The 1970 census is the first enumeration for which both census tract and city block statistics are available for Mishawaka. The redefined Tract 101 had 4,059 residents in 1970, of whom 27 were black. There were black households on several blocks, but over one-half of the black inhabitants of this census tract were institutionalized in group quarters on a single block.

Across from Tract 101 on the east side of Logan Blvd. south of the river, the realigned Tract 102 had 6,904 inhabitants in 1970. Because of its larger area in 1970, Tract 102 appeared to gain more than 1,600 residents during the 1960's, although the increase appears to have been almost entirely due to the enlargement of the tract's boundaries. One demographic trend between 1960 and 1970 that appears to be authentic is the near-total disappearance of the black population from the near-downtown area. There were 85 blacks in Tract 102 in 1960 and they comprised 1.6% of the total population. The tract had the highest black percentage of any of the city's seven census tracts and contained nearly one-half of Mishawaka's entire black population in 1960. However, in 1970 the enlarged Tract 102 had only two black residents. Both were on one block to the west of downtown Mishawaka.

Tract 103 had 4,963 residents in 1970, of whom 15 were black. The overall tract

population grew because of the tract boundary rearrangement, but the racial composition was unchanged between 1960 and 1970. The 1970 black population was scattered among four blocks in Tract 103.

Tract 104, the next census tract to the east, had a total population of 3,340 in 1970. Much of the apparent increase since 1960 can be attributed to the expansion of its east and west boundaries in the pre-1970 census tract realignment. The racial composition of Tract 104 remained essentially unchanged during the 1960's. The black population of the tract was zero in 1960 and one person in 1970.

Tract 105, the easternmost census tract south of the river, had a total population of 2,556 in 1970. This tract lost territory west of Capitol Avenue to Tract 104 in the post-1960 tract boundary changes, but gained land with annexations of property on the north side of 12th Street to the city of Mishawaka prior to the 1970 census. The black population of Tract 105 was 25, almost unchanged from the 26 black persons in the tract in 1960. Tract 105 was 1% black in 1970, unchanged from the 1960 black percentage for the tract. The entire 1970 black population of Tract 105 was located on three adjoining blocks east of Harding Avenue and north of Vistula Road.

North of the river and south of McKinley Avenue, the very small black populations underwent further decline during the 1960's. Because of the loss of land in the tract realignments, Tract 106 only had 5,260 residents in 1970. Much of the apparent loss of more than 2,000 persons in ten years is probably attributable to the tract's reduced 1970 boundaries. The black population in Tract 106 dropped from 20 in 1960 to six persons in 1970.

East of Tract 106, Tract 107 had 5,344 residents in 1970. Its apparent population growth after 1960 was probably due in large part to the land gained from Tract 106 when the boundaries were redrawn before the 1970 census. The black population of Tract 107 fell from five persons in 1960 to two in 1970. Thus, the combined black population of the two original North Side census tracts fell from 25 in 1960 to eight in 1970.

Before turning to the 1970 population statistics for Mishawaka's new northern and southern annexed areas, it is useful to examine the demographic changes in the seven original tracts that made up the city in 1960 as a group. In 1960, the seven tracts comprised the entire city and had a total population of 33,361. There were 183 blacks, who made up one-half of one percent of the 1960 total.

In 1970, these same seven tracts had a total population of 32,426, a loss of over 900 persons since 1960. The city of Mishawaka, however, gained population between 1960 and 1970 because of annexations north and south of the former city limits that had more than 3,000 inhabitants at the time of the 1970 census. Within the original seven census tracts there was a major loss of black residents between 1960 and 1970. The 1960 black population of 183 fell by more than one-half during the following decade to 78 in 1970. Blacks made up 0.5% of the combined seven tracts in 1960 and 0.2% in 1970.

As mentioned above, population losses in the seven older Mishawaka census tracts were more than offset by annexations of land to the north and the south prior to the 1970 census.

The southern annexed area, more accurately southeast of the main part of the city, was a zone of newer, more expensive, single-family homes. The southern annexation was contained in a single census tract in 1970, Tract 117. This tract had a total population of 733 in 1970, all of whom were white.

The other portion of newly-annexed territory in Mishawaka in 1970 lay north of McKinley Avenue. All of this land fell within Tract 115 in 1970. The portion of Mishawaka in Tract 115 was an irregularly-shaped collection of strip annexations extending north from McKinley Avenue, with the most land and the most residents at the tract's west end. Tract 115 had 2,358 residents in 1970. The black population was 29, or 1.2% of the total. This was the highest black percentage in the city in 1970, but not unusually high in the context of recent Mishawaka history. The near-downtown Tract 102 was 1.6% black in 1960. Also, Tract 105, in the Twin Branch area, was 1.0% black in 1960 and 1970. What set this northern zone of Mishawaka apart from the rest of the city and paved the way for its becoming increasingly different in composition from the remainder of the city was the concentration of large-scale rental housing north of McKinley. In a city characterized by owner-occupied, single-family homes, Tract 115 was evenly divided between owners and renters, and nearly one-half of housing units were in structures with five or more units. Most of the black residents of Tract 115 were located on a single large block containing hundreds of apartments.

Between 1970 and 1980, Mishawaka's total population rose from 35,517 to 40,201. While the older portion of the city lost one-tenth of its population during the decade, this was more than offset by increases in the post-1960 annexed areas and post-1970 annexation of brand-new subdivisions. The 1970 census tract boundaries were retained, for the most part, in the 1980 census. The changes in tract boundaries for Mishawaka involved the expansion of the city limits through the post-1970 annexations and the subdivision of populous census tracts in the high-growth areas by the Census Bureau to lessen the disparity in number of residents among the census tracts in the metropolitan area.

The black population decline in Mishawaka during the 1960's was dramatically reversed between 1970 and 1980. The black population of the city had been 107 in 1970, but it quadrupled to 434 by the time of the 1980 census. The citywide black percentage rose from 0.3 in 1970 to 1.1 in 1980. The black growth during the 1970's in Mishawaka was unevenly distributed, and should be examined at the census tract level, as well as by using the original city--north annexed area--south annexed area--division to better understand the changes that took place during the decade.

The cluster of seven original census tracts, Tract 101 through Tract 107, inclusive, had a combined total population of 29,233 persons in 1980. The total for the seven tracts in 1970 had been 32,426. The number of black residents in this group of seven tracts more

than doubled during the 1970's. Their combined black population was 78 in 1970 and 213 in 1980. The black percentage of the total population of these tracts was 0.2 in 1970 and 0.7 a decade later.

Tract 101, the westernmost of these seven original Mishawaka census tracts, had a total population of 3,382 in 1980, significantly below the 1970 total of 4,059. The black population in 1980 was 27, the exact number of black inhabitants found in the same tract in 1970. About one-half of the black population in Tract 101 in 1980 was in institutional quarters in the exact location identified in the 1970 block data. The black households in the tract were scattered among five city blocks in 1980.

The near-downtown Tract 102 had 6,162 residents in 1980. This figure represented a loss of more than one-tenth of the tract's 1970 population. There was a sharp reversal of one demographic trend within Tract 102 during the 1970's. The tract had contained 85 black inhabitants in 1960. Ten years later the number of blacks had dwindled to two. Now, the black population had risen to 62 in 1980, or 1.0% of the total population.

The 1980 black population of Tract 102 lived on nearly a score of city blocks, but nearly one-half of the group resided on two blocks containing large numbers of apartments.

Tract 103, east of downtown Mishawaka, had a total population of 5,287 in 1980. This represented an increase of more than 300 persons since 1970. The tract's black population rose during the decade from 15 in 1970 to 23, or 0.4% of the tract total, in 1980. There were seven blocks with black inhabitants in this tract in 1980, but nearly one-half of the black residents lived on a single block containing many rental units.

Tract 104, between Byrkit Avenue and Capital Avenue, had a total population of 3,064 in 1980. In 1970, the total for the tract was 3,340. There were five blacks in Tract 104 in 1980 who comprised 0.2% of the total tract population. In 1970, the black population of this tract was one, and in 1960 there had been no blacks in Tract 104. The black residents in 1980 were located on two city blocks.

Tract 105, the easternmost of the seven original Mishawaka tracts, gained population during the 1970's. Its total population was 2,556 in 1970 and 2,825 in 1980. The tract's black population grew from 25 in 1970 to 53 in 1980. The black percentage of the total population rose from 1.0 in 1970 to 1.9 in 1980. Most of the black population in 1980 resided on a half-dozen blocks east of Harding Avenue and north of Vistula. This was the same racially mixed area identified from the 1970 census block statistics. The remainder of the 1980 black population of Tract 105 was on a single block with more than 100 rental units.

North of the St. Joseph River, both of the census tracts that had been part of Mishawaka in 1960 had overall population losses and black population increases during the 1970's. The total population of Tract 106 declined from 5,260 in 1970 to 4,351 ten years later. The black population of the tract was 34, or 0.8% of the total in 1980. Ten years earlier

Tract 106 had six black residents. Blacks lived on seven blocks in Tract 106. Although the 34 black residents were scattered around the tract, 14 of them were on a single block containing nearly 300 rental units.

East of Tract 106 in Tract 107, the total population fell from 5,344 in 1970 to 4,162 in 1980. During the same period the black population rose from two to nine. The 1980 black population was located on three different city blocks.

To summarize the changes in black population distribution in the seven original Mishawaka census tracts between 1970 and 1980, the number of blacks rose from 78 in 1970 to 213 in 1980. However, in a group of neighborhoods characterized by owner-occupied, single-family homes, a disproportionate share of blacks lived in large rental buildings or complexes or were in institutional settings.

In regard to the changes in the 1970's in the two zones annexed after 1960, both had large population increases, but diverged somewhat in regard to black population change during the decade.

The south annexation, characterized by new, better single-family homes, grew from a 1970 total population of 733 to a 1980 total of 4,231. In 1980, this area had three populated census tracts, compared to one in 1970. The black population of the south annexed area had been zero in 1970 and stood at 24 in 1980. Blacks comprised 0.6% of the total population of the southern annexation in 1980, a figure almost identical to the 0.7% black composition of the seven older tracts that had comprised the city of Mishawaka in 1960. In terms of distribution by block, there were five black inhabitants on a block containing many rental units in Tract 116 east of Bittersweet Road and 19 blacks on a half dozen blocks of Tract 117.01. Tract 117.01 had a total population of 3,385 in 1980. This tract had been designated Tract 117 in 1970, but rapid population growth led the Census Bureau to split the tract prior to the 1980 enumeration. Tract 117.02, south of Dragoon Trail, was annexed to Mishawaka after 1970. This tract had 400 residents in 1980, all of whom were white.

On the other side of Mishawaka north of McKinley Avenue, the northern annexed area also had a large population increase in the 1970's. The total population of this zone was 2,358 in 1970 and 6,737 in 1980. Because of the rapid growth in and near this part of Mishawaka, the Census Bureau divided Tract 115 into three census tracts before the 1980 census. The black population of the northern annexed area rose from 29 in 1970 to 197 in 1980. The black share of the total north zone population rose from 1.2% in 1970 to 2.9% ten years later.

The Tract 115 of the 1970 census had been split into Tracts 115.01, 115.02 and 115.03 prior to the 1980 census. The westernmost of these new tracts, Tract 115.01, lay between Hickory Road and Grape Road north of McKinley. Most of the population in Tract 115 in 1970 had been in this part of the former tract. Tract 115.01 contained 2,963 residents in 1980, more than the entire Tract 115 had held ten years earlier. In 1980, Tract 115.01 had 166 black residents--more than five times the 29 blacks in the entire

north annexed area in 1970--who made up 5.6% of the total population of the tract. This was by far the highest black percentage in any Mishawaka census tract in any of the three enumerations since census tract statistics were first published for the South Bend metropolitan area in 1960. In 1980, most of the black residents of Tract 115.01 resided on five large blocks containing hundreds of rental units.

One of the other two subdivisions of the former Tract 115 was Tract 115.02. This tract was east of Tract 115.01 and lay north of McKinley between Grape Road and Fir Road. Tract 115.02 had 3,170 residents in 1980, of whom 24, or 0.8%, were black. The black residents lived on four populous blocks of mostly rental units.

The easternmost subdivision of the old Tract 115 was Tract 115.03, east of Fir Road. This was an area principally of homeowners rather than renters, and most of its land had been annexed to Mishawaka after 1970. The tract had 604 residents in 1980. The seven black inhabitants made up 1.2% of the population in 1980, and lived on two different blocks.

By 1980, the north annexed area above McKinley Avenue was beginning to diverge noticeably in racial composition from both the original cluster of seven census tracts that had comprised the city in 1960 and from the south annexed area of more costly single-family homes.

In 1980, the seven tracts that formed the pre-annexation city were, as a group, 0.7% black. The single-family, south annexed area was 0.6% black at the same time. However, in 1980 the northern annexed area was 2.9% black. The black percentage was four times higher than was the case in the other two major zones in Mishawaka. Also, the northern annexed area accounted for 168 of the net 327 new black residents added to Mishawaka's population between 1970 and 1980. Thus, an area with one-sixth of Mishawaka's total population in 1980 absorbed one-half of the city's net black increase in the 1970's and contained nearly one-half of the city's blacks in 1980.

By 1980, it was becoming apparent that the pattern of black residence in Mishawaka was strongly associated with the presence of large-scale, multi-unit apartment buildings and complexes. This was especially true in the northern annexed area, but also visible in some of the older census tracts that had black residents.

Mishawaka's total population continued to grow during the 1980's, rising from 40,201 in 1980 to 42,608 in 1990. The black growth of the 1970's in Mishawaka continued into the 1980's. The 1990 black population was 678, or 1.6% of the city's total population. In 1980, the 434 blacks in Mishawaka had made up 1.1% of the overall city population.

Most of the city's growth during the 1980's fell within the two zones of land annexed after 1960, especially the tracts north of McKinley Avenue. Also, the black population increase between 1980 and 1990 was distributed very unevenly among the three major

zones of the city (see Map 7).

The zone consisting of the oldest seven tracts, approximating the city land area of 1960, contained 29,489 residents in 1990. This represented a small increase in the total population from the 29,233 residents in the combined 1980 population of the seven tracts. The slight gain in residents in this zone between 1980 and 1990 contrasted with the declines in the area between 1960 and 1970 and between 1970 and 1980. The black population of the cluster of seven census tracts was 239 in 1990, up from 213 ten years before. The zone was 0.8% black in 1990, marginally higher than the 1980 percentage of 0.7.

Tract 101 is the westernmost of the seven original Mishawaka census tracts, lying south of the St. Joseph River and west of Logan Blvd. This tract had 3,339 inhabitants in 1990, down only slightly from the 1980 total of 3,382. The tract's black population increased from 27 in 1980 to 30 in 1990. The 1990 black population was 0.9% of the tract total. Despite the slight increase in the number of black persons in Tract 101 during the 1980's, the number of black members of households may have declined during the decade. The 1990 census block statistics reveal that 23 of the 30 blacks were on the block which contained a large group quarters population in 1970, 1980 and 1990 (see Map 8). The remaining seven black inhabitants of Tract 101 lived on five residential blocks.

The downtown Tract 102 lost somewhat more than 200 residents during the 1980's and had a total population of 5,925 in 1990. The black population of the tract dropped from 62 to 43 during the same decade. Blacks made up 0.7% of the total population of Tract 102 in 1990. The black inhabitants of Tract 102 were distributed among more than a score of city blocks in 1990. One of these blocks, containing only a single occupied housing unit, had a black majority in 1990. This was the only instance that a predominantly black block was found in the block statistics for Mishawaka from the 1970, 1980 or 1990 censuses.

The next census tract to the east, Tract 103, gained about 50 residents during the 1980's, and had a 1990 total population of 5,338. The black population of the tract increased from 23 to 58 during the 1980's, and made up 1.1% of the total population at the time of the 1990 census. Even though there were at least 10 blocks in Tract 103 with black residents in 1990, nearly one-half of the 58 black inhabitants of the tract were on a single block consisting entirely of rental units.

Tract 104, south of the river between Byrkit Avenue and Capital Avenue, gained over 400 new residents during the 1980's, and had a total population of 3,484 in 1990. The black population of the tract doubled from five to ten persons during the decade, and blacks made up 0.3% of the tract's total population in 1990. The black population of Tract 104 was located on five different city blocks in 1990.

Tract 105, the easternmost of the original seven Mishawaka census tracts, lost residents during the 1980's. The total population declined from 2,825 in 1980 to 2,689 in 1990.

The black population dropped even more sharply, from 53 in 1980 to 21 in 1990. The black percentage in Tract 105 was 1.9 in 1980 and 0.8 in 1990. The black population of Tract 105 resided on seven city blocks in 1990. Three of these blocks were in the area east of Harding Avenue and north of Vistula Road that had been racially mixed in 1970 and 1980. There had been six blocks in this neighborhood with black households in 1980.

North of the St. Joseph River, the overall populations of Tract 106 and Tract 107 did not change greatly during the 1980's, but the black populations of both increased. Tract 106, west of Main Street, had a total population of 4,336 in 1990, only 15 persons below the 1980 total. The black population of Tract 106 was 34 in 1980 and 51 ten years later. In 1990, blacks comprised 1.2% of the total population of this census tract.

Blacks resided on eight blocks in Tract 106 in 1990, but their distribution was quite uneven. Nearly one-half of the entire black population of the tract lived on a single large block that contained several hundred rental units. This was the same block that held much of the tract's black population in 1980. In 1990, eleven of the black inhabitants of the tract were located on a block occupied by a college. Since the number of year-round housing units on this block was quite small, most persons of all races were probably dormitory residents, not permanent householders.

East of Main Street, Tract 107 had 4,162 residents in 1980 and 4,378 in 1990. The black population increased from nine to 26 during the same period. Blacks made up 0.6% of the total population of the tract in 1990. There were black residents on eight city blocks in Tract 107 in 1990.

In summary, the seven census tracts that comprised Mishawaka in 1960 underwent relatively slight changes both in total population and in black population during the 1980's. The 239 black inhabitants made up 0.8% of the 29,489 persons in this zone in 1990. Many of the 239 blacks resided in larger rental buildings, and some were in group quarters in institutional settings.

The south annexed area of better single-family homes contained 4,231 persons in 1980 and 5,001 in 1990. The black population stood at 24 in 1980 and 38 in 1990. Blacks comprised 0.8% of the total population of the zone in 1990.

The southern annexed area consisted of three census tracts in 1990, as had been the case in 1980. One of these, Tract 116, was a neighborhood of expensive homes and apartments annexed after 1970, lying just east of the Twin Branch area. This tract had 446 residents in 1980 and 801 in 1990. The black population rose from five in 1980 to 14 in 1990. In the latter year, blacks made up 1.7% of the total population and resided on two different blocks in Tract 116.

The most populous part of the south annexed area, Tract 117.01, underwent very little demographic change during the 1980's. The total population was 3,451 in 1990, up very

slightly from the 1980 total of 3,385. The tract's black population was 19 in 1980 and 17 ten years later. Blacks made up 0.5% of the total population in 1990, and resided on a half-dozen different city blocks.

The third census tract in Mishawaka's southern annexed area is Tract 117.02, comprising two separate areas south of Dragoon Trail added to the city after 1970. The population of the tract in 1980 was 400 persons, all of whom were white. In 1990, the total population was 749, and seven of the residents were black. The tract was 0.9% black in 1990, and black households resided on two city blocks.

The south annexed zone greatly resembled the older main portion of the city in regard to racial composition in 1980 and 1990. Each zone was less than 1% black in 1980 and 1990, and in the latter year each was 0.8% black. Although the older city area and the south annexed zone may differ in their rate of population growth, age of housing stock and level of affluence, they are indistinguishable in terms of percent black of total population in the most recent census statistics.

The remaining major zone in Mishawaka, the northern annexed area, accounted for more than one-half of the city's population growth during the 1980's and a much higher percentage of the black population increase during that period.

The total population of the northern annexed area rose from 6,737 to 1980 to 8,118 in 1990. This represents an increase of 1,381 persons during the 1980's in the northern area, while the gain for the entire city during the decade was 2,407 persons.

The black population in the northern annexed area doubled from 197 in 1980 to 401 in 1990. Blacks made up 2.9% of the population in 1980 and 4.9% ten years later.

The northern annexed area of Mishawaka consisted of six census tracts in 1990. Three of these were at the far north edge of the zone and the city, consisted largely of commercial property, and contained about 5% of the total population of the northern zone. Most of the zone's inhabitants were in the three census tracts created after 1970 when the population of Tract 115 had become so large that the Census Bureau felt that it should be divided.

Tract 115.01 comprises the westernmost part of the northern zone, lying north of McKinley Avenue between Hickory Road and Grape Road. The tract had a 1980 total population of 2,963 and a 1990 total of 3,272. The black population was 166 in 1980 and 282 in 1990. Blacks comprised 5.6% of the population of Tract 115.01 in 1980 and 8.6% of the total in 1990.

The black residents of Tract 115.01 all lived on four large blocks containing hundreds of rental units. Three of these four blocks were more than 10% black in 1990.

To the east, between Grape Road and Fir Road, Tract 115.02 had the largest increase of

population during the 1980's of any census tract in the northern annexed zone, as well as in Mishawaka as a whole. The tract total population was 3,170 in 1980 and 3,928 in 1990. During the same period the black population rose from 24 to 95. The tract was 0.8% black in 1980 and 2.4% black in 1990. Eight blocks in Tract 115.02 had black residents, although most of the 95 black inhabitants of the census tract lived on four of these blocks in large-scale apartment complexes.

The last of the three principal components of Mishawaka's northern annexed zone is Tract 115.03, north of the St. Joseph River and east of Fir Road. This census tract had a population of 604 in 1980 and 494 in 1990. The black population was exactly seven persons at the time of both censuses. The tract was 1.4% black in 1990, and the seven black inhabitants were all located on a single, mostly white block.

The division of the city of Mishawaka into three principal zones is an effective way to further the understanding of the demographic processes that have been at work during the last three intercensal decades, as well as the racial residential pattern that had emerged by 1990. The three zones, once again, are: 1) the original older single-family home area of the seven census tracts that comprised the city in 1960, 2) the zone of more expensive, single-family housing added by southward annexation after 1960, and 3) the zone containing large apartment complexes north of McKinley Avenue annexed after 1960.

Even without considering racial patterns, this three-way division of the city of Mishawaka makes sense from the point of chronology, geography and housing type. The inspection of the census city block and census tract racial data in light of this three-way geographical division of Mishawaka provides a coherent picture of the distribution of the city's black population.

In regard to black population in 1990, both the old central zone and the southern annexed area had a very low black percentage. Each was 0.8% black at the time of the most recent census. Both of these zones are characterized by a predominance of single-family homes. The black share of the single-family housing stock in the old central neighborhoods is probably well below the 0.8% black share of the overall population. Analysis of the 1990 city block statistics shows a concentration of blacks in apartment buildings and complexes in several census tracts, as well as two institutional settings, not part of the regular housing market, with significant shares of the black population of their respective census tracts.

The northern annexed area stands out fairly distinctly from both of the other zones in regard to type of housing stock, 1990 racial composition, and recent demographic trends. The housing stock in the area north of McKinley Avenue is dominated by large apartment complexes with hundred of units. This pattern is entirely different from that of owner-occupied, detached, single-family homes. As for racial composition in 1990, the northern zone was 4.9% black. The other two zones of Mishawaka were both 0.8% black. Portions of the northern annexed area differed even more sharply from the rest of the city in racial composition. One northern census tract was 8.6% black in 1990, and

several blocks with apartment complexes on them were more than 10% black in that year.

In regard to the third issue, racial demographic trends, the northern zone of Mishawaka has had a continuous increase in both the number of black residents and the black share of the total population since it first appeared in the census data in 1970. The northern zone had 29 black residents in 1970, 197 in 1980, and 401 in 1990. The northern annexed area was 1.2% black in 1970, 2.9% in 1980 and 4.9% black in 1990. In contrast, the other two zones in Mishawaka have remained under 1% black throughout the period under study, with an actual major decline in the old central zone in the number of blacks between 1960 and 1970.

In closing, it may be worth noting how Mishawaka's black residential pattern differs from that more commonly found among racially mixed American cities. Among cities outside the South in which black neighborhoods have developed and expanded, the original black community has commonly emerged near the central business district. Then, with growth fueled by migration from the rural South, the black area generally expanded outward, away from the central business district. The outward expansion of the black zone would generally encounter better quality housing with increasing distance from the downtown area. This expansion of a black community's boundaries has usually been led by middle class and upper working class home seekers.

Cities that have experienced this sort of black neighborhood growth include Elkhart and Fort Wayne, Indiana, and Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Mishawaka contrasts strongly with these "typical" black urban growth models in that the main black concentration is at the edge of the city, and the near-downtown neighborhoods in all directions have only small numbers of black residents. Nearly three-fifths of the black population of Mishawaka resided north of McKinley Avenue in 1990, that is, a mile or more away from the central business district. It would appear that but for the construction of federally-subsidized rental units in the newly annexed northern area of the city, the black population of Mishawaka would have remained extremely small and virtually unchanged over the last 30 years.

Hispanics

As was the case with South Bend, the first reasonably useful census information about Hispanic residential patterns in Mishawaka was published in connection with the 1960 enumeration.

In 1960, there were 15 persons of Mexican stock and no Puerto Ricans among Mishawaka's 33,361 residents. All 15 of these individuals resided in Tract 104, south of the St. Joseph River between Byrkit Avenue and Capital Avenue. The Mexican stock residents made up 0.6% of the total population of Tract 104 in 1960 (see Table 14, 15, and 16).

Mishawaka's very small Hispanic population increased during the 1960's, although the magnitude of this growth is subject to question. Three separate Hispanic population indicators were published for the city of Mishawaka and its nine census tracts as part of the 1970 enumeration. One of these indicators suggests that Mishawaka's Hispanics doubled between 1960 and 1970. A second indicator gave a 1970 Hispanic population three times as large as the 1960 figure, while the third 1970 Hispanic category yielded a population eight times as large as the 1960 number.

Besides "Mexican stock," the indicator for Mexican immigrants and their native-born children, two new categories to measure the overall Hispanic population were introduced in the 1970 census. It should also be mentioned that the Puerto Rican stock category of 1960 was retained in the 1970 census, and Cuban stock was added for the first time. These have not been mentioned in connection with Mishawaka's 1970 Hispanic population distribution because no Puerto Ricans or Cubans were enumerated in the city in 1970.

One of the two categories used to track the overall Hispanic population in 1970 was "persons of Spanish language." The makeup of the census questions for this category on the 1970 census forms led some non-Hispanics to mistakenly list themselves as Hispanic. This was particularly true of poorly-educated census respondents, especially in the South. Thus, 1970 population totals for "persons of Spanish language" may overstate the actual Hispanic population of a locality, sometimes by a multiple of the authentic number of such persons.

In view of this deficiency in the 1970 persons of Spanish language data, a more cautious approach is to use the 1970 "persons of Spanish mother tongue" category. This statistic did not suffer from inflated totals caused by misunderstood questions. However, it may have understated the total Hispanic population by losing those Hispanic households in which only English was spoken.

The actual census results in regard to Hispanic population indicators for Mishawaka in 1970 included 120 persons of Spanish language, 37 persons of Spanish mother tongue, 46 persons of Mexican stock, and no persons of Puerto Rican or Cuban stock.

"Persons of Spanish mother tongue" will be used as the principal Hispanic residential pattern indicator for Mishawaka in 1970, for the methodological reasons cited above.

The 37 persons of Spanish mother tongue comprised one-tenth of one percent of Mishawaka's 35,517 inhabitants in 1970. The post-1960 city was divided into three zones for the present analysis. The central zone or original 1960 city consists of the seven census tracts of mostly single-family homes that made up Mishawaka at the time of the 1960 census. A second zone consists of the northern annexed area, north of McKinley Avenue and largely given over to sizeable apartment complexes. The third zone defined for the present research is the southern annexed area of more expensive single-family homes.

All of the 37 Hispanics lived in the zone of the seven original Mishawaka census tracts in 1970, where they comprised 0.1% of the 32,426 residents. There were no Hispanics in any of the various 1970 census indicator categories among the 2,358 residents of Mishawaka's northern annexed area or the 733 persons residing in the southern annexed zone at the time of the 1970 enumeration.

Persons of Spanish mother tongue were found in four of the census tracts in the central zone of Mishawaka in 1970. There were seven Hispanics among the 4,059 residents of Tract 101, south of the St. Joseph River and west of Logan Blvd. There were no persons of Spanish mother tongue in downtown Tract 102 or its eastern neighbor, Tract 103. Tract 104, east of Tract 103 and roughly between Byrkit Avenue and Capitol Avenue, contained eight persons of Spanish mother tongue in 1970. They made up 0.2% of the 3,340 residents in the census tract. There were no persons of Spanish mother tongue in Tract 105, the easternmost census tract south of the St. Joseph River.

North of the river, persons of Spanish mother tongue lived in Tract 106 and Tract 107 in small numbers. There were 17 Hispanics in Tract 106, west of Main Street, where they comprised 0.3% of the 5,260 residents in 1970. To the east, Tract 107 had five Hispanic residents in the total population of 5,344.

As previously stated, there were no Hispanics in the annexed areas north of McKinley Avenue and south of 12th Street and Dragoon Trail.

"Persons of Spanish mother tongue," found in four of Mishawaka's nine census tracts in 1970, made up one-tenth of one percent of the city's total population in 1970. The lack of city block data for Hispanics in 1970 prevents any further pinpointing of their residential pattern, but the small number of Hispanics in the four Mishawaka census tracts where they were found suggests that each of these tracts contained only one or two isolated Hispanic households in 1970.

Apparently the best 1970 census Hispanic indicator, "Persons of Spanish mother tongue" was only one of a number of categories used to identify members of the group in the 1970 enumeration. The others were "persons of Spanish language," Mexican stock, Puerto Rican stock, and Cuban stock. Persons in the first two of these four classifications resided in Mishawaka in 1970.

Although the defects in the 1970 census category "persons of Spanish language" have been described previously, the distribution of persons so classified in Mishawaka should be described for the record. The Census Bureau's own evaluation of its 1970 effort concluded that defects in the questionnaire led some non-Hispanics to erroneously list themselves as persons of Spanish language. This may well have happened in Mishawaka, where 120 individuals in this category were counted in 1970. This is more than three times as many persons as the 37 persons of Spanish mother tongue counted in the city at the same time. The "persons of Spanish mother tongue" category was found to be more reliable, although with the risk of the opposite problem: somewhat understating the number of Hispanics by excluding thoroughly assimilated persons who

did not speak Spanish in their homes.

In terms of residential patterns, the 120 persons of Spanish language were distributed among the same four Mishawaka census tracts in which all 37 persons of Spanish mother tongue resided. There were 47 persons of Spanish language in Tract 101, eight in Tract 104, 49 in Tract 106, and 16 in Tract 107. The corresponding totals of persons of Spanish mother tongue for these four tracts were seven, eight, 17 and five, respectively.

There were also three indicators using two-generation nationality classifications for Hispanic groups in the 1970 census tract statistics. They were Mexican stock, Puerto Rican stock and Cuban stock. There were no Puerto Ricans or Cubans enumerated in Mishawaka in 1970, but there were 46 persons of Mexican stock. There were six of these persons in Tract 102, eight in Tract 105, and 32 in Tract 106. Two discrepancies immediately arise about the relationship of the 1970 Mishawaka Mexican stock data to the two overall Hispanic indicators. First, the number of persons of Mexican stock, 46, exceed the number of persons of Spanish mother tongue, 37. It might have been expected that the Mexican stock population would be smaller than the Spanish mother tongue population, of which the Mexican group would logically be a subset. The second anomaly is the absence of persons of Spanish language or Spanish mother tongue in Tract 102 and Tract 105, both of which had Mexican stock residents.

Whatever the actual inconsistencies and failings of the 1970 Mishawaka Hispanic data, it should be remembered that even using the possibly overstated persons of Spanish language total of 120 individuals, Hispanics would only amount to 0.3% of the city's 1970 total population.

Mishawaka's 1980 Hispanic population was more than twice as large as the highest figure from the 1970 census, the 120 persons of Spanish language found in Mishawaka in the earlier enumeration. In 1980, Mishawaka contained 285 persons of Spanish origin, who made up 0.7% of the city's total population of 40,201. The 1980 Hispanic population was further broken down into 164 persons of Mexican origin, 28 individuals of Puerto Rican origin, seven Cubans and 86 persons in a residual category called "other Spanish origin." Mishawaka's 1980 Hispanic population was decidedly more heterogeneous than South Bend's was in that year. In 1980, nearly four out of five Hispanics in South Bend were of Mexican origin.

The three zones into which Mishawaka was divided for the present study had similar Hispanic percentages in 1980. The central zone, comprising the seven census tracts that made up the entire city in 1960, had 197 Hispanic residents in 1980. Persons of Spanish origin were 0.7% of the 29,233 inhabitants of the zone in 1980. The 67 Hispanics in the northern annexed zone accounted for 1% of the zone's total population of 6,737. The south annexed area held 21 Hispanics, who made up 0.5% for the 4,231 residents of the zone in 1980.

Hispanic population trends in Mishawaka were beginning to diverge from those of the black population by 1980. Nearly one-half of the city's black population lived in the

northern annexed area, where large apartment complexes were a prominent feature of the housing stock. The black percentage north of McKinley Avenue in 1980 was four times what it was in the other two zones of the city. On the other hand, 1980 Hispanic percentages were quite close in all three zones, between one-half of one percent and 1.0% of the total population in each.

The 1980 Hispanic populations of Mishawaka's three zones were similar in terms of their ethnic composition. About three-fifths of the Hispanics in the central zone were of Mexican origin. Mexicans comprised just under one-half of all Hispanics in both the northern and southern annexed zones. One instance of concentration of one of the Hispanic nationality groups in a limited area in 1980 was the presence of 17 of the 28 Puerto Ricans in Mishawaka in the northern annexed area. Otherwise, the various Hispanic nationalities were distributed fairly evenly among the city's three zones.

In 1980 the Hispanic percentages did not vary greatly among Mishawaka's census tracts. Five tracts were at least 1.0% Hispanic, but none was more than 1.3% Hispanic. There were Hispanic populations comprising less than 1.0% of the total tract population in seven other census tracts. One other tract had no persons of Spanish origin.

In 1980, the Hispanic percentages in the central zone of Mishawaka were 1.1 in Tract 101, 0.6 in Tract 102, 0.7 in Tract 103, 0.2 in Tract 104, 0.3 in Tract 105, 0.7 in Tract 106, and 1.0 in Tract 107. Hispanic percentages in the three populated census tracts in the northern annexed zone were 1.1 in Tract 115.01, 1.0 in Tract 115.02, and 0.2 in Tract 115.03. The Hispanic percentages in the census tracts of the southern annexed zone in 1980 were 1.3 in Tract 116, 0.4 in Tract 117.01 and zero in Tract 117.02.

At the city block level, Hispanics lived on 110 of the 667 residential blocks in Mishawaka in 1980. Hispanics resided on 86 of 599 blocks in the central zone, 15 of 35 blocks in the northern annexed zone, and 9 of 33 blocks in the southern annexed zone. No block in Mishawaka was over 50% Hispanic in 1980. There were also no obvious clusters of blocks with Hispanic residents in Mishawaka in 1980 that appeared to be in the early state of resegregation as mostly Hispanic. A final measure of the dispersal of Mishawaka's Hispanics in 1980 was the fact that this group, comprising only 0.7% of the city's total population, was distributed among one-sixth of Mishawaka's residential blocks.

Mishawaka's Hispanic population continued to grow during the 1980's, although persons of Spanish origin remained a very small part of the city's overall population in 1990. The Hispanic increase between 1980 and 1990 was distributed rather evenly among the three zones into which the city was divided for the present study, unlike the black growth during the same period, which was concentrated to a great extent in the apartment area north of McKinley Avenue.

Mishawaka had 457 Hispanic residents in 1990, who made up 1.1% of the city's total population of 42,608. The breakdown by nationality of Mishawaka's 1990 Hispanic population was 274 persons of Mexican origin, 37 Puerto Ricans, 23 Cubans and 123

persons of other Spanish origin.

There were 287 Hispanics in the central zone, the cluster of seven census tracts that had comprised the entire city in 1960, at the time of the 1990 census. Persons of Spanish origin made up 1.0% of the 29,489 residents of this area in 1990. The northern annexed zone above McKinley Avenue contained 128 persons of Spanish origin in 1990. They comprised 1.6% of the 8,118 inhabitants of this zone. There were 42 Hispanics in the south annexed zone of newer, more expensive single-family homes. Persons of Spanish origin were 0.8% of the south annexed zone's 5,001 residents in 1990.

All of the major Hispanic subcategories were represented in all three of Mishawaka's zones in 1990, with Mexicans the largest Hispanic group in all three. Persons of Mexican origin made up roughly two-thirds of all Hispanics in the central zone, slightly more than one-half of the Hispanics in the south annexed zone, and somewhat less than one-half of all persons of Spanish origin in the northern annexed area in 1990.

At the census tract level, there were sixteen tracts in Mishawaka in 1990, and their Hispanic percentages were all in the low range. Two census tracts had no Hispanic inhabitants and four others had Hispanic populations that were less than 1% of the tract total. Eight census tracts were between one and two percent Hispanic in 1990. The two remaining tracts, both of which had fairly small total populations, were between three and four percent Hispanic in 1990.

The 1990 Hispanic percentages for the census tracts in Mishawaka's central zone were 1.0 in Tract 101, 1.0 in Tract 102, 1.0 in Tract 103, 0.9 in Tract 104, 0.2 in Tract 105, 1.5 in Tract 106, and 0.8 in Tract 107. South zone Hispanic percentages were 1.2 in Tract 116, 0.7 in Tract 117.01, and 1.1 in Tract 117.02. The Hispanic percentages in the northern annexed zone in 1990 were 3.1 in Tract 113.01, zero in Tract 113.06, 3.6 in Tract 114.01, 1.9 in Tract 115.01, 1.4 in Tract 115.02, and zero in Tract 115.03. It should be noted that the two northern zone census tracts that were more than 3% Hispanic had small total populations. Tract 113.01 had only 356 residents in 1990, a fraction of the population found in a majority of census tracts in Mishawaka. Tract 114.01 had an even smaller total population, 56, and nearly all of these persons were in group quarters, not residents of year-round housing units. Since the present research is intended to analyze minority residential patterns in the greater South Bend housing market, populations in group quarters or other institutional settings have been excluded from the analysis.

At the city block level, Hispanics resided on 135 of the nearly 700 blocks in Mishawaka in 1990 (see Map 9). There were no blocks with Hispanic majorities, and the overall pattern showed an absence of clusters of blocks with Hispanic residents that might be the start of resegregation of members of this group and the departure of non-Hispanics from the area or areas in question.

In terms of the three zones defined for the present analysis, blocks with Hispanics in Mishawaka numbered 103 in the central zone, 15 in the northern annexed area, and 17 in the southern annexed zone. Besides the absence of predominantly Hispanic blocks

and dispersal of blocks with Hispanic residents throughout Mishawaka, there is one other indicator of a low level of segregation discernible from inspection of the 1990 census Hispanic block map. Hispanics, comprising only 1.1% of the population of Mishawaka in 1990, resided on one out of every five blocks in the city.

Asians

In 1990, Mishawaka's Asians made up nearly one percent of the city's total population. This segment of Mishawaka's population had increased very rapidly during each of the three prior decades. The history of the growth of the Asian population in Mishawaka closely parallels that of the city's Hispanics. There had been virtually no Asians in Mishawaka in 1940 and only around two dozen as late as 1960, yet in 1990, the city contained several hundred Asians from a dozen different racial or nationality backgrounds.

In 1940, there was one person in the "other races" category among 28,298 residents of Mishawaka. This classification included both Asians and American Indians, and was not further broken down in most 1940 census statistics, including city populations by race.

The 1950 census publications also failed to identify Asians within the "other races" category. There were six such persons within a total population of 32,913 in Mishawaka in 1950.

The 1960 census brought improvements to Asian statistics in two different ways. First, the release of the census tract report for the South Bend metropolitan area provided "other races" data for the seven census tracts into which Mishawaka had been divided. The other improvement was the breakdown of 1960 citywide "other races" statistics into enough racial subcategories that the calculation of an Asian population total for a given city could be made.

Mishawaka had an "other races" population of 27 in a total 1960 population of 33,361. Within the other races group, there were 26 Asians. The Asian total was the sum of 14 Japanese, 11 Chinese, and one person in a residual "all other" category. Collectively, Asians comprised roughly one-tenth of one percent of the population of Mishawaka in 1960.

Mishawaka's other races population, all but one of whose 27 members were Asians, was scattered among five of the city's seven census tracts in 1960. Four of these individuals were in Tract 101, four in Tract 103, and two more were in Tract 105. All of these census tracts were south of the St. Joseph River, with Tract 101 the westernmost and Tract 105 the easternmost in the city. North of the river, Tract 106 had 11 other races persons. Just to the east, six such persons lived in Tract 107.

The 1970 census used the same definitions and had the same level of coverage in regard to the Asian population as had been the case in 1960. In Mishawaka there were 98

persons in the "other races" category, of whom 74 could be classified as Asians. The Asian total was obtained by adding the totals of four "other races" subtotals for Mishawaka. These were 17 Japanese, eight Chinese, two Filipinos, and 47 persons in the residual "all others" classification. Asians comprised 0.2% of Mishawaka's 1970 total of 35,517 residents.

In regard to the three zones into which Mishawaka was divided for the present analysis, 84 of the 98 "other races" persons lived in the central zone, the cluster of seven census tracts that had made up the entire city in 1960. There were no other races persons in the southern annexed zone in 1970. The remaining 14 other races individuals lived north of McKinley Avenue in the northern annexed zone.

"Other races" persons resided in seven of Mishawaka's nine census tracts in 1970, but nowhere did they comprise even one percent of the total tract population. From west to east, south of the river, there were 16 other races persons in Tract 101, 13 in Tract 102, 10 in Tract 103, none in Tract 104, and 20 in Tract 105. North of the St. Joseph River and west of Main Street, 12 "other races" persons resided in Tract 106, while 13 lived in Tract 107, just to the east of Tract 106. Tract 115, the sole census tract in the northern annexed zone in 1970, had 14 other races individuals. Tract 117 was the only census tract in the southern annexed zone, and it had no "other races" population in 1970.

The 1980 census expanded the scope of Asian population data by providing Asian and Asian subcategory census tract statistics, and by including the group in city block population racial breakdowns.

Mishawaka had 148 persons in the Asian and Pacific Islander category, distributed among eight racial and nationality subcategories. Asians made up 0.4% of the 40,201 residents of Mishawaka in 1980. The largest racial or nationality populations within Mishawaka's 1980 Asian group were 42 Asian Indians, 37 Koreans, 28 Chinese and 12 Japanese.

There were 97 Asians in the cluster of seven census tracts designated as Mishawaka's central zone for the present study. Asians were 0.3% of the 29,233 persons living in this zone in 1980. Across McKinley Avenue, 44 Asians comprised 0.7% of the 6,737 inhabitants of the north annexed zone. Seven Asians made up 0.2% of the 4,231 residents of Mishawaka's third major zone in 1980, the south annexed area. The Asian populations of all three zones were quite heterogeneous, with many of the racial or nationality Asian subgroups represented.

Asians resided in nine of the 13 populated census tracts in Mishawaka in 1980, but only exceeded one percent of the total population in a single tract. In the central zone, there were four Asians in Tract 101, four in Tract 102, 29 in Tract 103, none in Tract 104, 14 in Tract 105, 32 in Tract 106 and 14 in Tract 107. North zone Asian census tract totals in 1980 were 40 in Tract 115.01, four in Tract 115.02, and zero in Tract 115.03. Tract 115.01, largely occupied by apartments, had both the largest number of Asians of any Mishawaka census tract in 1980, 40, and the highest Asian percentage, 1.3.

The 1980 census was the first enumeration in which the city block reports contained data for Asians. Asians lived on 53 residential blocks in Mishawaka in 1980. The zonal breakdown put 39 of these blocks in the central zone, 8 in the northern annexed zone, and the remaining six in the southern annexed zone. Within the central zone there were four such blocks in Tract 101, four in Tract 102, 8 in Tract 103, three in Tract 105, 12 in Tract 106, and eight in Tract 107. In the northern annexed zone, there were six blocks with Asian residents in Tract 115.01 and two in Tract 115.02. In the southern annexed zone, all six blocks with Asian inhabitants were in Tract 117.01.

There were no blocks in Mishawaka in 1980 which had Asian majorities. There were two clusters of blocks with Asians in Mishawaka in 1980. One was in the populous apartment area north of McKinley Avenue in Tract 115.01. The other consisted of a half-dozen blocks with Asian residents south of 12th Street near Merrifield Avenue in Tract 103. It should be noted that even in these two clusters of blocks with Asian residents, the actual Asian percentage was very low. Another measure of Asian dispersal within Mishawaka's neighborhoods was the fact that in 1980 this group, comprising only 0.4% of the city's total population, was scattered among 53 blocks. In other words, Asians lived on roughly one out of every 12 residential blocks in the city of Mishawaka in 1980.

Mishawaka's Asian population nearly doubled during the 1980's, with persons in the Asian or Pacific Islander category numbering 284 in 1990. Asians made up 0.7% of Mishawaka's 1990 total population of 42,608. Mishawaka's Asian population included members of 13 of the 15 Asian racial or nationality subcategories found in the statistical tables of the 1990 census tract report. The most numerous Asian nationalities in Mishawaka were 61 Asian Indians, 57 Chinese, 41 Koreans, 39 Vietnamese, 29 Japanese and 16 Filipinos.

The three zones into which Mishawaka was divided for the present study did not share evenly in the rapid increase in the city's Asian population during the 1980's. In the central zone there were 134 Asians in 1990, up from 97 in 1980. Asians were 0.5% of the 29,489 central zone residents in 1990. The southern annexed area's Asian population more than doubled in the 1980's, rising from seven persons in 1980 to 18 ten years later. In 1990, Asians made up 0.4% of the southern zone's 5,001 residents.

Both the largest numerical increase of the Mishawaka Asian population and the highest rate of increase between 1980 and 1990 were in the northern annexed area. More than one-half of the city's net increase in the number of Asians took place in this zone. The number of Asians exactly tripled in ten years, rising from 44 in 1980 to 132 in 1990. In the latter year, Asians made up 1.6% of the 8,118 inhabitants of the northern annexed zone.

Each of the three zones had a very heterogeneous Asian population, with many of the nationality groups found in each, and no obvious large concentrations of any single ethnic group in 1990.

In 1990, Asians resided in 14 of the 16 census tracts in Mishawaka, although only five of these tracts were as much as one percent Asian, with a single one of these between 2% and 3% Asian.

The 1990 Asian populations for the census tracts in Mishawaka's central zone were 15 in Tract 101, 20 in Tract 102, 16 in Tract 103, three in Tract 104, 11 in Tract 105, 27 in Tract 106 and 42 in Tract 107. The last-named tract was 1.0% Asian, the only one of the seven central zone tracts with an Asian percentage that high.

Four of the six census tracts in the northern annexed area had Asian residents, and all four tracts were more than 1% Asian. In 1990, there were six Asians in Tract 113.01, where they made up 1.7% of the relatively small total population. There was one Asian in Tract 114.01, but that tract consisted of group quarters, not year-round housing units. The two significant census tracts in terms of both total population and Asian population in the northern zone were Tract 115.01 and Tract 115.02. In the former, 77 Asians were 2.4% of the total population. This tract had both the largest number of Asians and the highest Asian percentage in Mishawaka in 1990. Tract 115.02 contained 48 Asians, the second highest number for any Mishawaka census tract in 1990. Asians were 1.2% of the total population of this tract in 1990.

In the southern annexed zone, there were seven Asians in Tract 116, 10 in Tract 117.01, and one in Tract 117.02.

Mishawaka's Asian population lived on 85 different residential blocks in 1990 (see Map 10). There were no city blocks with Asian majorities in Mishawaka in 1990. There were 62 blocks with Asian residents in the central zone, 14 in the northern annexed zone, and nine in the southern annexed zone.

There were four areas in which Asians were somewhat concentrated in Mishawaka in 1990, but even in these places the Asian share of the total population was quite low. Two of these four concentrations had been visible in the 1980 block data. One Asian population center was along Merrifield Avenue south of 12th Street, although the Asian population of Tract 103, where it was located dropped from 29 in 1980 to 16 in 1990.

The other Asian concentration found in 1980 and 1990 was in the apartment area north of McKinley Avenue. Tract 115.01 and Tract 115.02 had a combined Asian population of 44 in 1980. Ten years later their combined Asian total was 125 persons.

There were two other places where Asians were found in some numbers in 1990, both between Jefferson and McKinley north of the St. Joseph River. One was an apartment complex at Jefferson and Liberty, and the other was a cluster of a half-dozen blocks containing Asians east of Division Street.

By 1990, Mishawaka's Asian population was becoming more concentrated in the large apartment complexes north of McKinley Avenue. Asians were 1.6% of the north zone

population, compared to 0.7% of the overall city population, and 0.5% of the residents of the central zone. However, the numbers, percentages and disparity between zones were less indicative of a growing degree of segregation of Mishawaka's Asians than appeared to be the case with the city's black population during the same period. A final indicator of the degree of dispersal of Mishawaka's Asians in 1990 was the fact that the group, comprising only 0.7% of the total population, was scattered among one out of every eight residential blocks in the city in 1990.

Chapter 4

The Suburban Ring

Beyond the city limits of South Bend and Mishawaka lies the remainder of St. Joseph County. By 1990, this suburban ring contained nearly 100,000 residents, whose neighborhoods varied more than a little, both in affluence and population density. There were upper income subdivisions with winding streets, areas of small homes on streets laid out in the traditional grid system, pockets of blight or near-blighted housing, the campus of a major private university, extensive farmland, and towns surrounded by those farmlands. The suburban ring around South Bend and Mishawaka underwent much change in the five decades before 1990, including a tripling of its population, but in other respects there was little change at all.

Black Population Trends

The 1940's

In 1940, St. Joseph County, Indiana, had a total population of 161,823. The 3,702 black residents comprised 2.3% of the county's total population. The larger of the two cities within the county, South Bend, contained 101,268 inhabitants in 1940. The 3,555 black residents made up 3.5% of South Bend's total population. Immediately to the east, the city of Mishawaka had 28,298 residents in 1940, of whom 51, or 0.2%, were black (see Tables 5 and 6).

The remainder of St. Joseph County consisted of 13 townships or remnants of townships, plus some small towns that had been established in these areas. This rural and suburban ring had a total population of 32,257 in 1940. The 96 black residents of this area comprised 0.3% of the total population of the ring in 1940. In the absence of census block statistics or even census tract statistics for suburban St. Joseph County, it is not possible to describe the residential pattern of this very small black population in 1940 in detail.

By 1950, the total population of St. Joseph County had risen to 205,058, a gain of well over 40,000 persons in ten years. Wartime migration from the South caused the county's black population to more than double during the 1940's. The 8,665 black residents made up 4.2% of the total county population in 1950.

The most populous of the three major components of St. Joseph County, the city of South Bend, had 115,911 residents in 1950. The 8,134 black residents comprised 7.0% of South Bend's total population in 1950. The adjacent city of Mishawaka had a 1950 total population of 32,913. The 137 black Mishawakans made up 0.4% of the overall

city total in 1950. The remainder of St. Joseph County had 56,234 inhabitants in 1950. The 394 blacks in this area were 0.7% of the suburban ring's total population.

While the black populations of the two large cities more than doubled during the 1940's, that of the remainder of St. Joseph County quadrupled between 1940 and 1950. The suburban ring, despite losing land and residents to South Bend through annexation, accounted for more than one-half of the county's overall population growth during the 1940's.

Given the fact that the black population of the suburban remainder of St. Joseph County jumped fourfold in the 1940's, it would have been of interest to be able to examine the 1950 black residential pattern in detail. Unfortunately, the 1950 census small area statistics by race for the part of the county outside of South Bend and Mishawaka were even less adequate than those for 1940. In fact, 1950 suburban St. Joseph County racial data may be said to be nonexistent. The 1950 census city block statistics only covered the city of South Bend, and the first census tract coverage for the area was still a decade in the future. Unique among the mid-twentieth century censuses, the 1950 enumeration did not include published racial breakdowns for townships, or other unincorporated minor civil divisions. This meant that the only black population information for St. Joseph County's suburban ring was the 1950 total of 394 black persons for the area as a whole.

The 1950's

While it is not possible to locate the 1950 black population of the suburban ring of St. Joseph County even in terms of township, it is possible to make an informed speculation based on the improvements made in the census coverage of the area in 1960 and 1970. The information in South Bend's first census tract report, in 1960, placed most of the black residents of the unincorporated part of the county in Portage Township, adjoining the city of South Bend on the west. The suburban ring's first block statistics, part of the expanded coverage of the whole South Bend urbanized area provided by the 1970 census, further pinpointed this Portage Township black population as residing principally on the north side of Fillmore Road. In the absence of reliable contradictory evidence from non-census sources, it is reasonable to assume that most of the 394 blacks in St. Joseph County's suburban ring in 1950 lived west of South Bend in the unincorporated portion of Portage Township.

The census statistics for 1940 and 1950 reveal an uneven distribution of St. Joseph County's blacks among South Bend, Mishawaka, and the remainder of the county at the time of both enumerations. In 1940, 96.0% of all St. Joseph County blacks lived in South Bend, with 1.4% in Mishawaka and 2.6% in the remainder of the county. Ten years later, with many new people added to the county population by wartime migration, the black distribution within St. Joseph County among the three principal subdivisions largely conformed to the 1940 pattern. In 1950, the city of South Bend still contained 93.9% of all blacks in the county, while 1.6% were in Mishawaka and 4.5% were in the remainder of St. Joseph County.

St. Joseph County gained more than 30,000 new residents during the 1950's, and its total population stood at 238,614 in 1960. The 14,022 black residents comprised 5.9% of the county's 1960 total population (see Figure 2, 3, and 6). Among the three major components of the county, the city of South Bend had 132,445 inhabitants in 1960. South Bend's 12,955 black residents made up 9.8% of the city's total population. To the immediate east of South Bend, Mishawaka had a 1960 total population of 33,361. The 183 black residents comprised 0.5% of the city's 1960 total.

The third major subdivision of the county, the remainder surrounding the two large cities, actually gained slightly more new residents during the 1950's than the city of South Bend. This was notable both because the suburban ring had only one-half as many inhabitants as South Bend in 1950, and also because the suburban ring lost some land and residents to South Bend during the 1950's through annexation. The 1960 total population of St. Joseph County's suburban ring was 72,808. The black population had doubled since 1950 to 884, or 1.2% of the total population of the suburban ring in 1960. In 1950, the first census year in which there were significant numbers of blacks in suburban St. Joseph County, the Census Bureau's publication program did not include race for minor civil divisions such as townships. Since block statistics were restricted to cities of 50,000 or more at that time and there was no census tract report for greater South Bend, the 1950 census provided no clue to the black residential pattern in St. Joseph County's suburban ring. This situation was partially rectified after the next enumeration through the release of the 1960 census tract report for metropolitan South Bend. The 1960 census tract report gave the number of white, black and other races persons for each of the 59 census tracts into which St. Joseph County had been divided by the Census Bureau. There were 35 census tracts in the city of South Bend, seven in Mishawaka, and 17 covering the remainder of the county. The boundaries of the 17 suburban census tracts conformed to township boundary lines with few exceptions. Several of the more populous townships were divided into two or more census tracts in the 1960 tract report. Most of the small incorporated towns were not differentiated from the townships within which they were located in the 1960 census tract statistics.

Most of the black population of St. Joseph County outside of South Bend and Mishawaka in 1960 resided in a single township. The unincorporated portion of Portage Township contained 739 of the 884 St. Joseph County blacks not living in the two big cities in 1960. Blacks made up 6.2% of the 11,836 residents of the unincorporated remnant of Portage Township in 1960. This township remnant was actually divided into two parts, one north of South Bend and another much larger area west of the city. The rest of the original land area of Portage Township was occupied by the greater part of the city of South Bend.

Because each of the two distinct sections of the remainder of Portage Township was a separate census tract in the 1960 tract report, it is possible to examine the racial composition of these two very different areas. Tract 112 lay south of Douglas Road, west of Juniper Road, north of the South Bend city limits, and east of the St. Joseph River. In 1960 this tract had 6,296 residents, of whom 20, or 0.3%, were black. Most of this population was listed as residing in group quarters, not year-round housing units. In

fact, most of the population of Tract 112 consisted of the students at the University of Notre Dame and Saint Mary's College. The census is taken in early April, when most institutions of higher education are in session. Even though most undergraduates may be legal residents of other communities, often in other states, the Census Bureau counts them at their college dormitory or apartment locations.

The other, genuinely residential portion of Portage Township lay west of the South Bend city limits, south of Edison Road, east of Pine Road and north of the line extending west from the west end of Chippewa Avenue. Tract 111 contained 5,540 residents at the time of the 1960 census. The 719 blacks comprised 13.0% of the total population of Tract 111 in 1960. Although the 1960 block statistics did not cover the suburban area around South Bend, it is a reasonable assumption, based on the block data from 1970 and later for Portage Township, that the black population of the township was concentrated on the north side of Fillmore Road in 1960.

More than four-fifths of the 884 black inhabitants of St. Joseph County's suburban ring lived in the western residential part of Portage Township in 1960. There were no other sizable black populations in St. Joseph County's suburban zone in 1960. West of Portage Township, Warren Township had a total population of 4,574. The 67 black residents made up 1.5% of all Warren Township residents. Warren Township had the second highest number of black residents among the townships in suburban St. Joseph County. It was also second to Portage Township in black percentage within the suburban ring. None of the remaining 11 townships was even 1% black in 1960. In fact, five had no black residents at all.

Clay township, north of South Bend, had 45 blacks in a total 1960 population of 14,965. Penn Township, surrounding Mishawaka on the north, east and south, had 20 black residents in a total population of 13,969. Eighteen of these black inhabitants lived in Tract 115, north of the St. Joseph River, while the other two were south of the river in Tract 117.

Olive township, in the westernmost part of the county, had four black residents in a total 1960 population of 3,406. North of South Bend and west of the St. Joseph River, German Township's total population of 3,012 included six blacks in 1960. Two of the remaining jurisdictions had a single black resident each, while the rest had none at all.

The distribution of St. Joseph County's black population among the county's three main subdivisions in 1960 continued to conform in large measure to the pattern found in 1940 and 1950. In 1960, the city of South Bend contained 92.4% of all St. Joseph County black residents. At the same time, 1.3% of the county black population lived in Mishawaka and 6.3% resided in the suburban ring.

The 1960's

With the release of the 1970 census results for the South Bend area, it became apparent that new trends were emerging in St. Joseph County and its major subdivisions in regard to population change. Overall county population growth was greatly reduced from that of the 1940's and 1950's, the city of South Bend had a sizable population loss during the 1960's, and the lion's share of what population growth did take place occurred in the suburban ring. In round numbers, between 1960 and 1970, the county gained over 6,000 residents, South Bend lost nearly 7,000, Mishawaka gained 2,000 new inhabitants, and the suburban remainder of the county added more than 11,000 new residents to its population.

In 1970, St. Joseph County had a total population of 245,045. The 18,587 black residents made up 7.6% of the county's total 1970 population. South Bend had a 1970 population of 125,580, of whom 17,737, or 14.1%, were black. Mishawaka had a total population of 35,517, and a black population of 107, or 0.3% of the total. The remainder of St. Joseph County had a total population of 83,948 in 1970. The black population of the suburban ring in 1970 was 743, or 0.9% of the total.

The 1970 census was the first enumeration to provide statistics for race for the suburban part of metropolitan South Bend at the minor civil division, census tract, and block level. The inclusion of block statistics for the first time means that the suburban black residential pattern could be examined in great detail at last.

Two-thirds of the black population in St. Joseph County's suburban ring lived in a single census tract in 1970. Tract 111, immediately to the west of South Bend, had 499 black residents in 1970. Blacks made up 8.6% of the 5,814 residents of this tract. For unknown reasons the Census Bureau redrew a number of census tract boundaries in the South Bend metropolitan area between 1960 and 1970, abandoning some township boundaries in favor of other lines. In 1960, Tract 111 had consisted of the unincorporated portion of Portage Township lying west of South Bend. The pre-1970 boundary changes for Tract 111 added a portion of German Township to its north end and subtracted southern portions of Portage Township, much of which became part of Tract 120. Tract 120 had been coterminous with Greene Township in 1960. The net effect of the pre-1970 census tract boundary changes in suburban South Bend was to make it difficult to obtain exact population statistics by race for those township remainders in those cases in which a township included both an unincorporated portion and a section that had been absorbed by the city of South Bend. The published 1970 census racial statistics for townships in Indiana counties only provided the information for entire townships, without any reference to municipalities that might have been established therein.

Most of the black population of Tract 111 resided on 16 integrated or predominantly black blocks in a fairly limited area bounded on the east by Mayflower Road, on the south by Western Avenue, on the west by Pine Road, and on the north by the South Shore Railroad tracks. The eight blocks with black majorities were all on the north side of Fillmore Road.

There were no other significant concentrations of black residents in the suburban ring of St. Joseph County in 1970. The largest township black population in the suburban ring other than the above-mentioned Portage Township concentration was located immediately to the west in Warren Township. In 1970, Warren Township had 89 black inhabitants, who comprised 1.9% of the total population of 4,779. The black residents of Warren Township were found on four different blocks, two of which were near the Fillmore Road black area of Portage Township.

The next largest black population among the 24 census tracts in suburban St. Joseph County in 1970 was in Tract 112, east of the St. Joseph River and north of the South Bend city limits. This tract had 66 black inhabitants among its 7,508 residents in 1970. Eighty percent of the population of Tract 112 resided in group quarters in 1970, including most of the black inhabitants. The 1970 census found only one black household among the normal residential blocks in Tract 112. This meant that most of the black population was located on the campus of Notre Dame.

The three census tracts surrounding Mishawaka on three sides and approximating the unincorporated portion of Penn Township had a combined total population of 17,621 in 1970. The 25 black residents made up about one-tenth of one percent of the total in this group of three census tracts.

There were roughly 50 blacks in Clay Township, scattered on a number of blocks and making up only a small fraction of the roughly 20,000 residents. The remaining suburban and rural census tracts in St. Joseph County had extremely small black populations or none at all. In 1970, ten of the 24 census tracts in the county outside of South Bend and Mishawaka had no black residents.

The 1970 distribution of the county black population among the three major subdivisions continued to be highly uneven. In 1970, the city of South Bend contained 95.4% of all black residents of St. Joseph County. At the same time, Mishawaka had 0.6% of all county black residents, and the suburban ring's share was 4.0%.

The 1970's

Between 1970 and 1980, St. Joseph County had a net loss of more than 3,000 residents. Despite annexing some residential areas during the 1970's, the city of South Bend lost nearly 16,000 inhabitants during the decade. On the other hand, Mishawaka gained well over 4,000 new residents, and the remainder of the county--despite losing land and people to annexations by both South Bend and Mishawaka--had a net increase of nearly 8,000 new inhabitants between 1970 and 1980.

In 1980, St. Joseph County had a total population of 241,617. The 21,604 black residents comprised 8.9% of the county total. There were 109,727 residents in the city of South Bend in 1980, of whom 20,066, or 18.3%, were black. The Mishawaka 1980 total population was 40,201. The 434 black Mishawaka residents made up 1.1% of the

total. The remainder of St. Joseph County had a total population of 91,689 at the time of the 1980 census. The black population of the suburban ring was 1,104, or 1.2% of its 1980 total population.

Although the number of black residents continued to decline for the second successive decade after peaking in 1960, the unincorporated portion of Portage Township remained the principal black population center in the suburban ring in 1980, as well as the site of the only predominantly black residential area in the suburban zone. Unincorporated Portage Township had a 1980 total population of 11,529, of whom 557, or 4.8%, were black. A majority of these residents were in group quarters just north of the South Bend city limits in Tract 112. This institutional population was 7,766 persons in 1980, and the 152 blacks made up 2.0% of the total. The other portion of suburban Portage Township lay west of the city of South Bend and was made up of conventional residential neighborhoods. This part of the township had a 1980 total population of 3,763. The 405 black residents were 10.8% of the total population in that part of unincorporated Portage Township. The black population remained concentrated in the area bounded by Mayflower Road, Western Avenue, Pine Road and the South Shore Railroad tracks. Most of the blocks in this zone north of Fillmore Road were predominantly black, while a half-dozen blocks on the south side of Fillmore had racially mixed, predominantly white populations.

The unincorporated portion of Clay Township, north of South Bend and east of the river, had a 1980 total population of 23,325. The 299 black residents made up 1.3% of the total, and comprised the second-largest black total among the townships in the suburban ring in 1980. The black residential pattern in Clay Township was the opposite of that found in Portage Township: dispersal rather than concentration. There were black residents on roughly 50 blocks in Clay Township in 1980. There was one subtle pattern in black occupancy in 1980 in Clay Township. The black percentage tended to be higher in newer neighborhoods with more expensive houses, as well as in large apartment complexes. The census tract east of Hollyhock Road and north of the Indiana Toll Road was nearly 2% black in 1980. The areas of older housing to the south and the west were both under 1% black.

West of Portage Township, Warren Township had a total population of 5,327 in 1980. The 75 black inhabitants made up 1.4% of the township total. There were black residents on ten blocks in Warren Township, but most of them lived on two blocks near the Portage Township Fillmore Road black area.

The remainder of Penn Township, surrounding Mishawaka on three sides, had 51 black residents in a 1980 total population of 15,708. In the northeast corner of the county, Harris Township had 5,265 residents in 1980, of whom 26 were black. The remaining suburban and rural townships, as well as the outlying incorporated towns, all had very low black percentages or no black residents at all in 1980.

The imbalance in the distribution of St. Joseph County's black population among the three major subdivisions was still very evident in the 1980 census statistics. South Bend

contained 92.9% of the county black population, even though two decades of population losses left the city with less than one-half of the county's total population for the first time in this century. In 1980, Mishawaka contained 2.0% of the county's black residents, while the suburban ring held 5.1%.

The 1980's

Between 1980 and 1990, St. Joseph County rebounded somewhat from the population losses of the previous decade. The county as a whole gained more than 5,000 new residents during the 1980's, and the post-1960 trend of population losses in the city of South Bend slowed appreciably, with a decline of only 4,000 persons between 1980 and 1990. Mishawaka's total population increased by more than 2,000 persons during the decade, while that in the remainder of the county grew by 7,000.

St. Joseph County had 247,052 inhabitants at the time of the 1990 census, of whom 24,190, or 9.8% were black (see Tables 1, 2, and 3 and Figure 1). The total population of the city of South Bend was 105,511 in 1990. South Bend's black population of 22,049 comprised 20.9% of the total. Mishawaka's 678 black residents were 1.6% of the city's 1990 total population of 42,608. The suburban remainder of the county had 98,933 residents in 1990, of whom 1,463, or 1.5%, were black.

Three-fourths of the black population of the suburban ring resided in two populous townships adjoining the city of South Bend. The unincorporated part of Portage Township had 575 black residents in 1990, the largest number in any township or town in the suburban ring. This black population made up 5.6% of Portage Township's 10,303 residents in 1990. The two very different areas that make up the unincorporated part of Portage Township have had contrasting long-term trends in terms of post-1960 black population changes. The smaller part north of the South Bend city limits, consisting of most of the Notre Dame campus, had 6,903 residents in 1990. Blacks made up 4.2% of this institutional population. The 290 black inhabitants of the Notre Dame residence halls and other quarters were more than one-half of the entire Portage Township black population of 575 in 1990, a very dramatic change from the black population distribution within the township only 30 years earlier. In 1960, there were only 20 blacks in the Notre Dame campus population, while the residential portion of Portage Township west of South Bend had over 700 black residents.

The residential area of Portage Township west of South Bend had 3,400 inhabitants in 1990. The 285 black residents comprised 8.4% of the area's total population. This black population was less than one-half what it had been 30 years earlier. The 1960 black total for this part of Portage Township had been 719 persons.

Most of the black population in the western residential part of Portage Township in 1990 lived in the same limited area found in the 1970 and 1980 census block statistics that formed a distinct zone of mixed and predominantly black blocks. This area was bounded by Mayflower Road on the east, Western Avenue on the south, Pine Road on the west, and the South Shore Railroad tracks on the north. As in the two prior

censuses, integrated blocks were on the south side of Fillmore Road and all of the blocks with black majorities were north of that street.

The other suburban entity with a sizable black population in 1990 was Clay Township, east of the river between the north city limits of South Bend and the Michigan state line. Clay Township's unincorporated portion had a 1990 total population of 25,308. The 523 black residents made up 2.1% of the total population in 1990. Clay Township's black population was distributed differently from both patterns found in unincorporated Portage Township. Portage Township had one black population within an institutional setting and another residential black population concentrated in a limited area in the otherwise mostly white western suburban zone. The 1990 Clay Township black residential distribution represented yet a third pattern: random, or at least haphazard, scattering of the black households among the general population.

All six principal census tracts in Clay Township were at least 1% black, with one of them 4% black, at the time of the 1990 census. There were black residents on scores of blocks in the township in 1990. The tendency of the newer and more affluent subdivisions east of Hollyhock Road and north of the Indiana Toll Road to have slightly higher black percentages could be detected in the 1990 data, as had been the case in 1980.

Penn Township had the next largest black population among jurisdictions in the suburban ring in 1990. The 89 black residents made up 0.5% of the 16,262 residents of this township, which surrounds the city of Mishawaka on the north, east and south.

In the northeast corner of St. Joseph County, Harris Township had a 1990 total population 11,477. The 73 blacks made up 0.6% of the total. West of Portage Township, Warren Township had 4,997 residents, of whom 65, or 1.3%, were black. Although scattered on a number of blocks, most of the Warren Township black population was located near the black concentration just to the east on Fillmore Road in Portage Township.

Across the St. Joseph River to the west of Clay Township, the unincorporated part of German Township had 4,030 inhabitants in 1990. The 56 blacks comprised 1.4% of that total. At the south edge of South Bend, the unincorporated part of Centre Township had a total population of 6,153. The 29 black residents were 0.5% of the total in 1990.

The remaining half-dozen outlying townships and most of the seven incorporated towns had very small black populations that amounted to a fraction of one percent of the total. The combined 1990 black population for these 13 jurisdictions was 53 persons.

Even though there has been an encouraging amount of black movement into Clay Township and several subdivisions elsewhere, there was still a pronounced uneven distribution of St. Joseph County black residents among the three major county divisions in 1990. In 1990, the city of South Bend--with significantly less than one-half of all county residents--contained 91.1% of St. Joseph County's black population.

Mishawaka contained 2.8% of the county black population in 1990, and the suburban ring held 6.0%. This means that South Bend has contained more than 90% of St. Joseph County's black population at the time of every census from 1940 through 1990.

Hispanics

The 1960 Census

The 1960 census was the first enumeration containing useful information on Hispanic residential patterns in the suburban portion of St. Joseph County. The 1960 census had two Hispanic indicators, but no overall Hispanic category. The two indicators were Mexican stock and Puerto Rican stock. Each of these was a two-generation category, including persons born in the indicated locality and their American-born children. For want of an overall Hispanic category, the present study has utilized the sum of the Mexican and Puerto Rican populations as an admittedly imperfect 1960 overall Hispanic indicator for the cities, townships and individual census tracts in St. Joseph County (see Figures 2, 4, and 7).

The smallest area for which 1960 Hispanic population statistics were published was the census tract. Hispanic coverage would not be extended down to the city block level until the 1980 enumeration. The 1960 census tract report for the South Bend metropolitan area divided St. Joseph County into 59 tracts. There were 35 census tracts in the city of South Bend, seven in Mishawaka, and 17 covering the remainder of the county.

Of the 13 townships in St. Joseph County's suburban ring in 1960, three populous ones were covered by two or more census tracts. Eight other townships shared identical or nearly identical borders with a single census tract each. In the southwest corner of the county, Liberty Township and Lincoln Township were combined in a single census tract. However, the town of Walkerton in Lincoln Township had a census tract of its own. The other incorporated towns in the suburban ring were not differentiated in the 1960 census tract report from the respective townships in which they had been established.

In 1960, the 324 identifiable Hispanics made up 0.1% of the 238,614 residents of St. Joseph County, Indiana. The county contained 218 persons of Mexican stock and 106 individuals of Puerto Rican stock. The 1960 Hispanic population in the city of South Bend was 92, divided exactly between 46 Mexicans and 46 Puerto Ricans. At the same time, Mishawaka had 15 Hispanic residents, all of Mexican stock.

The remainder of the county beyond the city limits of South Bend and Mishawaka had 72,808 residents in 1960. The Hispanic population of the suburban ring in 1960 was 217 persons, of whom 157 were of Mexican stock and 60 were Puerto Ricans. Hispanics made up 0.3% of the 1960 total population of St. Joseph County's suburban ring. Although Hispanics were not numerous anywhere in St. Joseph County in 1960,

their greater presence in the suburban ring is worth noting. The suburban remainder of St. Joseph County contained less than one-third of the 1960 county total population, yet was home to two-thirds of the identifiable Hispanics in the county.

Hispanics resided in 11 of the 17 census tracts in St. Joseph County outside the city limits of South Bend and Mishawaka in 1960. In five of these tracts, the Hispanic population consisted entirely of persons of Mexican stock, while five others had only Puerto Ricans among their identifiable Hispanics. The remaining tract with Hispanics in 1960 contained both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans.

The largest Hispanic population in any census tract in the suburban ring in 1960 was found in Tract 111, the residential part of unincorporated Portage Township west of South Bend. The 82 Hispanics, all of Mexican stock, made up 1.5% of the 5,540 residents of Tract 111. Tract 112, north of South Bend, approximated the separate northern part of unincorporated Portage Township. Tract 112 had 1960 boundaries that nearly coincided with those of the combined Notre Dame and Saint Mary's College campuses. Tract 112 contained 16 identifiable Hispanics, all of whom were Puerto Ricans, in a 1960 total population of 6,296. The total 1960 population of unincorporated Portage Township was 11,836, of which 98, or 0.8% were Hispanics.

The next largest suburban Hispanic population in 1960 was located in Tract 120, which exactly coincided with the boundaries of Greene Township. This rural township stretches from the south end of Portage Township southwestward to the western boundary of St. Joseph County. The 2,506 residents of Greene Township included 32 Hispanics, all of Mexican stock. Hispanics were 1.3% of the total population in Greene Township, the highest Hispanic percentage in any political subdivision in St. Joseph County in 1960.

The third largest Hispanic population in the suburban ring in 1960 was in Clay Township, east of the St. Joseph River between South Bend's northern city limits and the Michigan state line. Clay Township had a 1960 total population of 14,965, including 30 Hispanics. The Hispanic population was evenly divided, with 15 Mexicans and 15 Puerto Ricans.

The remaining suburban townships had very few Hispanics or none at all in 1960.

The 1970 Census

The 1970 census retained the 1960 categories of Mexican stock and Puerto Rican, and added a third two-generation Hispanic nationality indicator for Cubans. The 1970 enumeration also had two overall Hispanic indicators, the more satisfactory of which was "persons of Spanish mother tongue."

St. Joseph County had a 1970 total population of 245,045, of whom 1,526, or 0.6%, were persons of Spanish mother tongue. The county had 519 persons of Mexican stock,

89 Puerto Ricans and 73 persons of Cuban stock.

Among the three major subdivisions of the county in 1970, the city of South Bend contained 929 persons of Spanish mother tongue, who comprised 0.7% of the 125,580 city residents. Mishawaka had 37 Hispanics, who made up 0.1% of the city's 35,517 inhabitants in 1970.

The third major subdivisions of the county, the ring of townships and towns surrounding South Bend and Mishawaka, had 83,948 residents in 1970. This suburban remainder of the county contained 560 persons of Spanish mother tongue in 1970, who made up 0.7% of the total. The suburban ring had 149 persons of Mexican stock, 30 Puerto Ricans and seven persons of Cuban stock in 1970.

The 1970 census tract report for the South Bend metropolitan area provided data for 74 populated tracts in St. Joseph County. There were 41 tracts in South Bend, nine in Mishawaka and 24 in the remainder of the county. The number of census tracts was increased because of annexations of land by South Bend and Mishawaka, and because the Census Bureau sometimes divides tracts that have undergone large population increases since the previous enumeration.

One change between the 1960 and 1970 censuses that was not helpful was the shifting of some suburban tract boundaries that had corresponded to township boundaries in 1960. This made it more difficult to compute exact race or Hispanic information for most townships in St. Joseph County's suburban ring.

Persons of Spanish mother tongue resided in nine of the 24 census tracts in the suburban ring in 1970. Five of these tracts contained persons of Mexican stock, two had Puerto Rican inhabitants, and one had residents of Cuban stock.

The suburban census tract with the largest number of Hispanic residents in 1970 was Tract 112, with 178 persons of Spanish mother tongue. They made up 2.4% of the 7,508 residents of this tract in 1970. Tract 112 had covered the two college campuses in Portage Township in 1960; the pre-1970 boundary changes had added residential neighborhoods in Clay Township as far north as the Indiana Toll Road and the town of Roseland to the tract. Nevertheless, this was still a "campus" tract because four-fifths of the 1970 population lived in group quarters. The 1970 populations for the three Hispanic nationality groups for Tract 112 were 15 persons of Mexican stock, seven Cubans and no Puerto Ricans.

The other census tract covering a major part of unincorporated Portage Township in 1970 was Tract 111, in the suburban residential zone immediately to the west of the city of South Bend. This tract had a 1970 total population of 5,814, of whom 50, or 0.9%, were persons of Spanish mother tongue. Tract 111 had 29 persons of Mexican stock in 1970, but no members of the other two Hispanic nationalities listed in the census tract data.

The second highest number of Hispanics among the census tracts in the suburban ring of St. Joseph County in 1970 was found in Tract 120, southwest of South Bend. While Tract 120 was coterminous with Greene Township in 1960, the Census Bureau expanded its boundaries to take in small parts of four neighboring townships prior to the 1970 enumeration. Tract 120 had a total population of 3,484 in 1970. The 116 Hispanics comprised 3.3% of the tract population. The 91 persons of Mexican stock were the total Hispanic nationality population identified in the 1970 census tract statistics for Tract 120.

The only other suburban ring census tract that was more than one percent Hispanic in 1970 was Tract 108, located in the westernmost part of St. Joseph County and covering most of Olive Township. Tract 108 had 3,334 residents in 1970, of whom 62, or 1.9% were persons of Spanish mother tongue. There were eight persons of Mexican stock in this tract in 1970, but no Cubans or Puerto Ricans.

Hispanics accounted for less than one percent of the total population in the other five census tracts in St. Joseph County's suburban ring in which they were found in 1970.

Fundamental changes took place between 1960 and 1970 in St. Joseph County both in the number of Hispanics--their population more than quadrupled during the decade--and in their geographic distribution among the county's political subdivisions. In 1960, the identifiable Hispanic population of St. Joseph County amounted to 324 persons. The 92 Hispanics in the city of South Bend made up 28.4% of the 1960 county Hispanic total. The 15 in Mishawaka were 4.6% of all St. Joseph County Hispanics. The 217 Hispanics in the suburban remainder comprised 67.0% of the 1960 county total.

By 1970, the county Hispanic population was more than four times larger than it had been a decade before, and the majority of these people now lived in the city of South Bend, where the number of Hispanics had jumped tenfold between 1960 and 1970. The 1970 census found 1,526 persons of Spanish mother tongue in St. Joseph County. South Bend's 929 Hispanics made up 60.9% of that total, while the 37 in Mishawaka were 2.4% of county Hispanics. The 560 Hispanics in the suburban remainder were 36.7% of the 1970 county total. In only ten years the focus of Hispanic residence in St. Joseph County had shifted from the suburban ring to the city of South Bend.

The 1980 Census

The Hispanic population of St. Joseph County more than doubled between 1970 and 1980, and the city of South Bend contained even a larger proportion of the county's Hispanics at the end of the decade than it had at the beginning. In 1980, St. Joseph County had a total population of 241,617, of whom 3,663, or 1.5%, were persons of Spanish origin. The 2,594 Hispanics in the city of South Bend made up 2.4% of the total population of 109,727. In Mishawaka, the 285 Hispanics represented a more than sevensfold increase in the group's number in only ten years. Persons of Spanish origin were 0.7% of the city's total population of 40,201 in 1980.

The only Hispanic population that failed to at least double in size during the 1970's among those in the three major subdivisions of St. Joseph County was that of the suburban ring. This Hispanic population grew by slightly more than 200 persons during the decade, and stood at 784 in 1980. Persons of Spanish origin made up 0.9% of the 1980 total population of 91,689 in the suburban remainder of St. Joseph County surrounding South Bend and Mishawaka.

The 1980 census was the first enumeration to extend Hispanic population statistics down to the city block level. This allowed examination of Hispanic residential patterns in greater detail than had formerly been the case, when the smallest areas for which Hispanic population data were available were census tracts or minor civil divisions such as cities or townships.

The 1980 census tract report divided the Spanish origin population into three national origins, that is, all-generation categories, and a residual nationality classification. The 784 Hispanics in suburban St. Joseph County in 1980 included 422 persons of Mexican origin, 50 Puerto Ricans, 40 Cubans, and 272 members of the residual "other Spanish origin" category. This was a similar distribution to that found in South Bend and Mishawaka. In 1980, the county as a whole had 2,642 persons of Mexican origin, 176 Puerto Ricans, 71 Cubans, and 774 "other Spanish origin" persons within its overall Hispanic population of 3,663 persons.

Analysis of census data for townships and census tracts revealed that Hispanics were not a large percentage of the total population in any of the major subdivisions of St. Joseph County's suburban ring in 1980. Only two townships were over one percent Hispanic in 1980. One of these and a third township were the only jurisdictions in the suburban ring to contain more than 100 persons of Spanish origin in 1980. As for the distribution of the Hispanic nationalities by census tract and township in 1980, persons of Mexican origin formed the largest element in nearly all cases, and there were no sizable exceptions to that pattern.

The unincorporated part of Portage Township had the largest number of Hispanics of any of the townships in the suburban ring in 1980. There were 284 Hispanics in Portage Township, who made up 2.5% of the total population of 11,529. However, 218 of these Hispanic individuals were in group quarters on the Notre Dame campus and not occupants of year-round housing.

The other area above one percent Hispanic in 1980 lay to the south of the residential part of unincorporated Portage Township and southwest of South Bend. Greene Township's 73 Hispanics were 2.4% of its 3,036 residents in 1980.

The second largest number of Hispanics in a suburban township in 1980 was found in Clay Township, north of South Bend. The unincorporated portion of Clay Township contained 206 persons of Spanish origin in 1980, who made up 0.9% of the total population of 23,325. It should be noted, however, that 71 of the Hispanics were in University of Notre Dame group quarters, not standard year-round housing.

The remaining townships and towns in the suburban ring had smaller Hispanic populations that were all less than one percent of the total population of the entity in question. One rural township had no Hispanic residents at all in 1980.

At the city block level, the Hispanic population of the suburban remainder of St. Joseph County was, with a single exception, fairly well dispersed within the general population. From the 1980 census city block report it was possible to determine that the 784 Hispanics were scattered among at least 134 blocks in the suburban ring, only one of which was more than 50% Hispanic. A small Hispanic concentration resided on several rural blocks on the west side of Mayflower Road on the border between Portage Township and Greene Township. This area, southwest of South Bend, had fewer than 100 Hispanics, but they formed the majority on one block in Portage Township.

Other than the abovementioned example, Hispanic residential patterns in the suburban ring exhibited a great deal of dispersal in 1980. There were 51 residential blocks containing Hispanics in Clay Township, 27 in the unincorporated part of Penn Township, 15 in Warren Township, and ten in the residential portion of unincorporated Portage Township. There were no obvious large clusters of Hispanic-occupied blocks other than the previously mentioned area along Mayflower Road.

In terms of the distribution of Hispanics among the three principal subdivisions of St. Joseph County in 1980, South Bend's preeminence as the center of Hispanic population was even greater in 1980 than it had been ten years earlier, when the city had just surpassed the suburban ring in the number of Hispanics. In 1980, South Bend's 2,594 Hispanics were 70.8% of the 3,663 persons of Spanish origin in St. Joseph County. At the same time Mishawaka's 285 Hispanics comprised 7.8% of the countywide total. The 784 persons of Spanish origin in the suburban ring in 1980 made up 21.4% of all St. Joseph County Hispanics. Only 20 years earlier, the suburban portion of the county had contained two-thirds of its Hispanics.

Hispanic growth in St. Joseph County continued during the 1980's at a reduced rate, and the number of Hispanics failed to double in all three of the major county subdivisions. This was at some variance with the changes during the 1970's, when South Bend's Hispanic population more than doubled and that in Mishawaka increased sevenfold.

The 1990 Census

In 1990, St. Joseph County had a total population of 247,052, of whom 5,201, or 2.1%, were persons of Spanish origin. The city of South Bend had a total population of 105,511 at the time of the 1990 census. South Bend's 3,546 Hispanics made up 3.4% of the total population. Mishawaka had 42,608 residents in 1990, including 457 persons of Spanish origin. Hispanics were 1.1% of the city's total population in 1990.

The third major subdivision of St. Joseph County, the remainder surrounding South

Bend and Mishawaka, had a total population of 98,933 in 1990. There were 1,198 Hispanics in the suburban ring in 1990, who made up 1.2% of its total population. This was the first time that Hispanics comprised one percent or more of the population of the suburban remainder of St. Joseph County.

The categories for Hispanic nationalities used in 1980 were retained in the census tract report for metropolitan South Bend for the 1990 enumeration. Among the 1,198 persons of Spanish origin in the suburban ring in 1990 were 678 individuals of Mexican origin, 122 Puerto Ricans, 36 Cubans, and 362 persons in the residual "other Spanish origin" category. This composition by nationality was similar to that of the Hispanic population of the entire county and those of the cities of South Bend and Mishawaka. In 1990, St. Joseph County's 5,201 Hispanics included 3,704 persons of Mexican origin, 313 Puerto Ricans, 92 Cubans, and 1,092 persons of other Hispanic origin.

In 1990, St. Joseph County's suburban remainder consisted of seven incorporated towns and 13 townships or unincorporated portions of townships. Only one township and one town had no Hispanic residents. The 1,198 Hispanics were only about one percent of the population of suburban St. Joseph County, and this was reflected in the low Hispanic percentages in those jurisdictions where they did reside. Only five townships and two incorporated towns were one percent or more Hispanic in 1990, and no entity in the suburban ring was even 5% Hispanic. Also, significant portions of the suburban Hispanic population were found in group quarters, not inhabitants of conventional residential neighborhoods.

The component of the suburban remainder of St. Joseph County with both the highest Hispanic percentage and the largest number of Hispanic persons in 1990 was the unincorporated portion of Portage Township. The 445 persons of Hispanic origin comprised 4.3% of the 10,303 residents of Portage Township in 1990. However, a majority of the township's residents were part of a campus institutional population. There were 369 Hispanics among the 6,903 persons residing at the University of Notre Dame. There were 76 Hispanics among the 3,400 persons in the conventional residential neighborhoods west of South Bend that made up the rest of unincorporated Portage Township in 1990.

The other locality in the suburban remainder of St. Joseph County with more than 100 Hispanics was Clay Township, north of South Bend and extending to the Michigan state line. The unincorporated portion of Clay Township had a 1990 total population of 25,308, including 282 persons of Hispanic origin, who made up 1.1% of the township total. This Hispanic population included at least 75 persons in group quarters, principally connected with the University of Notre Dame.

The other townships that were at least one percent Hispanic in 1990 included Greene Township, where 70 Hispanics made up 2.3% of the total population, Warren Township with 57 Hispanics comprising 1.1% of the township total, and German Township with 39 Hispanics making up 1.0% of all residents in 1990. The town of Roseland was 2.0% Hispanic, and the town of North Liberty was 1.7% Hispanic in 1990.

There were 91 Hispanic residents in Harris Township in 1990, 73 in Penn Township, and 40 in Centre Township. Hispanics were less than one percent of the total population in all three of these townships.

All other townships and towns in St. Joseph County were less than one percent Hispanic in 1990, and the number of persons of Hispanic origin was very low in most of them. As previously stated, one township and one incorporated town contained no Hispanic residents in 1990.

At the city block level, the high degree of dispersal of Hispanics within the general population of the suburban ring found in the 1980 census block data persisted into 1990. Hispanics lived on more than 250 different blocks in the suburban ring, only four of which had Hispanic majorities. Two of these predominantly Hispanic blocks were at the south end of Portage Township, where a concentration of Hispanics was present in 1980. The other two blocks with Hispanic majorities were farther to the southwest in rural Greene Township.

The few blocks in the suburban ring with Hispanic majorities comprised the exception, not the rule, in terms of describing Hispanic residential patterns in this area in 1990. Hispanics were widely distributed in the suburban residential neighborhoods on blocks in which non-Hispanics formed the majority. There were 64 blocks with Hispanic inhabitants in Clay Township in 1990, 32 in Penn Township, 23 in Harris Township, 23 in Warren Township, 22 in Portage Township, 20 in Centre Township, 14 in German Township and 10 blocks with Hispanic residents in Greene Township.

The distribution of St. Joseph County's Hispanics among the three major county subdivisions in 1990 was largely unchanged from that found in 1980. In 1990, the city of South Bend contained 68.2% of the 5,201 Hispanics living in St. Joseph County. At the same time, Mishawaka's Hispanics made up 8.8% of the group's countywide total. Hispanics in the suburban ring comprised 23.0% of all persons of Hispanic origin in St. Joseph County in 1990.

With the exception of small rural concentrations southwest of South Bend, the Hispanic residents of the suburban ring of townships and towns in St. Joseph County were generally quite thoroughly dispersed within the overall population. Hispanics did form a smaller part of the population in the suburban ring, 1.2%, than in the county as a whole, 2.1%, in 1990. The Hispanic share of the population of residential neighborhoods in the suburban ring in 1990 was actually even smaller, because more than one-third of the suburban Hispanic population of 1,198 persons was in group quarters, not in conventional year-round housing.

Asians

Identification of Asian residential patterns in the suburban portion of St. Joseph County surrounding South Bend and Mishawaka only became reasonably easy with the

publication of the reports for the 1980 census. Prior to that enumeration, most Asian population information was pooled with that for American Indians, and the numbers for the combined groups were presented in statistical tables as "other races." Census tract data did not become available for the South Bend metropolitan area until the 1960 census was released. Only with the inclusion of Asians in the city block data and the publication of very comprehensive nationality subcategory statistics for Asians in the census tract reports for 1980 did it become possible to create a reasonably detailed portrait of where the members of this group lived.

In 1940, the remainder of St. Joseph County outside of South Bend and Mishawaka contained 27 persons in the "other races" category. They comprised 0.1% of the 32,257 residents of this area. It was not possible to determine how many of the 27 "other races" individuals were Asians and how many were American Indians.

Ten years later, 67 "other races" persons made up 0.1% of the 56,234 inhabitants of the county's suburban ring. As had been true in 1940, the 1950 census "other races" category was not further broken down into Asian and American Indian subcategories.

The 1960 Census

The 1960 census brought two major improvements to the counting of the Asian residents in the greater South Bend area. The first of these was the breakdown of the "other races" population into subgroups of races or nationalities in the population totals for St. Joseph County, the city of South Bend, and the city of Mishawaka. The addition of some of the 1960 "other races" subcategories yields a total for Asians. The procedure involves the addition of Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and a residual "all other races" to obtain a usable Asian total (see Table 11).

The second major improvement in Asian population statistics was the inclusion of the South Bend area in the census tract program for the first time as part of the 1960 enumeration. For each of the 59 census tracts in St. Joseph County, the population was divided by race into white, black and "other races." Unlike the county and city other races totals, those for the census tracts were not differentiated into racial subcategories, thus preventing the calculation of exact Asian totals for individual census tracts.

The suburban ring around South Bend and Mishawaka contained 88 persons in the "other races" category in 1960. This other races population included 17 Japanese, 13 Chinese, three Filipinos, and 39 members of the residual "all other races" category. The addition of the totals for the above four subcategories yielded a total of 72 Asians in St. Joseph County's suburban ring. These 72 Asians comprised 0.1% of the total population of 72,808 in the suburban remainder of the county in 1960.

Although the "other races" population in the 1960 census tract report was not broken down into subcategories that would allow the identification of Asians, the fact that more than four-fifths of that population in suburban St. Joseph County was Asian means an

examination of the "other races" distribution by census tract may well provide some insights into Asian residential patterns in the suburban ring in 1960.

Of the 59 census tracts in the 1960 tract report for the South Bend metropolitan area, 17 were in the suburban remainder of St. Joseph County. Most of the boundaries of the suburban census tracts in 1960 also conformed to the borders of the townships, making the compilation of some census statistics for those entities simpler.

Most of the 88 other races individuals in suburban St. Joseph County in 1960 resided in two adjacent census tracts north of the city of South Bend. Tract 112, approximating the Notre Dame and Saint Mary's College campuses, contained 38 other races persons, who made up 0.6% of the 6,296 residents of the tract. To the north and east lay the other census tract with a major share of the "other races" population. Tract 113 very closely coincided with Clay Township in its boundaries. This was a residential area, in contrast to the group quarters which characterized the campus setting of Tract 112. Tract 113 had 30 other races individuals, who made up 0.2% of the 14,965 residents in 1960.

The remaining 20 other races persons were scattered among six census tracts, and amounted to less than one percent of the total population in each case. The "other races" population was an extremely small part of St. Joseph County's overall population in 1960. Three-quarters of the suburban other races persons were in two adjacent census tracts north of the city of South Bend. It should be noted at this point that much of the "other races" population within the city of South Bend was in the northeastern area near these two suburban tracts with the largest number of members of the group in the remainder of the county.

Turning from the 1960 "other races" population specifically to Asians, it is of some interest to place the Asian population of the suburban ring in the context of the overall metropolitan area. In 1960, St. Joseph County contained 329 "other races" residents, of whom 280 were classified as Asians for the purposes of the present study. These 280 Asians made up 0.1% of the county's total population of 238,614 in 1960. The county Asian population consisted of 75 Japanese, 102 Chinese, 17 Filipinos, and 86 members of the residual "all other races" classification.

Among the three major subdivisions of St. Joseph County in 1960, the 182 Asians in the city of South Bend made up 65% of all county Asians. The 26 Mishawaka Asians were 9.3% of the county Asian population. The 72 Asians in the suburban remainder of the county comprised 25.7% of all Asians in St. Joseph County in 1960 (see Figures, 2, 5, and 8).

The 1970 Census

The 1970 census provided essentially the same coverage for Asians that the 1960 enumeration had. City and county "other races" populations were broken down into

enough subcategories that it was possible to calculate the number of Asians within these "other races" totals. At the census tract level, there was no such itemization of the race and nationality subcategories within the "other races" totals for the individual census tracts. The number of populated census tracts in St. Joseph County in 1970 was 74, with 41 in the city of South Bend, nine in Mishawaka, and 24 in the suburban remainder of the county.

The suburban remainder of St. Joseph County contained 305 "other races" persons in 1970. This population included 50 Japanese, 37 Chinese, ten Filipinos, and 90 members of the residual "all other races" classification. The addition of the totals for these four groups yielded a total of 187 Asians in the suburban ring in 1970. Asians comprised 0.2% of the 83,948 residents of the suburban portion of St. Joseph County outside of South Bend and Mishawaka in 1970.

Inspection of the "other races" data for the census tracts in the suburban ring may have some value in obtaining an impression of 1970 Asian residential patterns in suburban St. Joseph County, despite the lack of a further breakdown of "other races" into subcategories that would make it possible to compute exact Asian populations for census tracts. In 1970, more than three-fifths of the "other races" residents of the suburban ring were Asians.

Persons classified in the "other races" category resided in 21 of the 24 census tracts in the suburban remainder of St. Joseph County in 1970. Members of the other races category made up less than one percent of the population of all of the 21 suburban tracts in which they were found. A majority of the 305 other races individuals in the suburban ring in 1970 lived in a cluster of four census tracts north of South Bend which collectively encompassed most of a populous township and a major university campus. Much of the remaining other races population was in a group of census tracts nearly surrounding the city of Mishawaka and jointly covering nearly all of the territory of another important suburban township.

The principal suburban "other races" population center in St. Joseph County in 1970 was made up of four census tracts east of the St. Joseph River between the northern city limits of South Bend and the Michigan state line. These four tracts encompassed nearly all of Clay Township and the Notre Dame and Saint Mary's College campuses. The largest number of other races persons and the highest other races percentage among all of the census tracts in the suburban ring in 1970 were found in Tract 113.03. This was the westernmost census tract in Clay Township, lying west of Hollyhock Road and north of the Indiana Toll Road. The 63 "other races" persons made up 0.9% of the 6,736 inhabitants of the tract in 1970. To the east of this tract and also north of the Toll Road lay tract 113.02. The 54 other races persons were 0.7% of the 1970 tract total population of 7,513. South of the Indiana Toll Road and east of the Notre Dame campus lay the third of the Clay Township residential census tracts, Tract 113.01. Its 26 other races inhabitants were 0.7% of the total of 3,540 residents in 1970.

The last of the four census tracts in this north suburban cluster was quite different in character from the three Clay Township tracts discussed above. Tract 112 contained portions of two townships, but it also differed from the three Clay Townships census tracts described above in that most of its residents were in group quarters, not standard, year-round housing. As delineated prior to the 1970 census, Tract 112 extended from the South Bend city limits on the south to the Indiana Toll Road on the north. The area north of Douglas Road to the Toll Road consisted mostly of residential, commercial, or vacant land in Clay Township, with most of the inhabitants in the incorporated town of Roseland. The remainder of Tract 112, south of Douglas Road, was given over to the Notre Dame and Saint Mary's campuses. Tract 112 contained 7,508 inhabitants in 1970, of whom 80% were in group quarters. Virtually all of this group quarters population was located on the two campuses. This part of Tract 112, south of Douglas Road, was in Portage Township, not Clay Township.

The "other races" population of Tract 112 was 40 persons, or 0.5% of the 1970 total population. It was not possible to determine from the published 1970 census statistics how much of this other races group was located in the campus settings and how much of the population was in the conventional housing north of Douglas Road.

The Clay Township-Notre Dame cluster of four census tracts contained 183 of the 305 other races persons in the suburban remainder of St. Joseph County in 1970.

The only other sizable "other races" population in a relatively limited area in suburban St. Joseph County in 1970 was in a group of five census tracts that surrounded the city of Mishawaka on three sides and very closely approximated the land area of unincorporated Penn Township. Tract 103, Tract 105 and Tract 117 were south of Mishawaka, while Tract 116 lay to the east and Tract 115 was north and northeast of the city. These five census tracts had a combined total population of 18,046. The 46 "other races" persons were 0.3% of the total population of the group of five census tracts.

The remaining 76 "other races" persons were distributed among a dozen census tracts representing 11 townships in the suburban ring. The other races population was less than one-half of one percent of the total population in all of these census tracts in 1970.

Returning to the larger context, St. Joseph County contained 1,076 other races persons in 1970. They included 147 Japanese, 177 Chinese, 55 Filipinos, and 408 members of the residual "all other races" classification. The Asian portion of the county other races population numbered 787 persons, or 0.3% of the 1970 county total population of 245,045. South Bend's 526 Asians were 66.8% of the county total, while Mishawaka's 74 Asians were 9.4% of all St. Joseph County Asians. The 187 Asians in the suburban remainder of the county were 23.8% of the countywide Asian population in 1970. There was almost no change in the proportion of the county's Asians living in each of these three main subdivisions between 1960 and 1970.

The 1980 Census

The 1980 census was the first enumeration to provide comprehensive population statistics for Asians, including coverage in the block statistics. The 1980 census tract statistics included a specific Asian category, divided into nine race and nationality subcategories. The block statistics for 1980 included Asians for the first time. These improvements made it possible to examine Asian residential patterns in greater detail.

There were 530 Asians in the suburban remainder of St. Joseph County in 1980, comprising 0.6% of the 91,689 residents. The half-dozen most numerous groups within the Asian population were 158 Asian Indians, 131 Chinese, 107 Koreans, 67 Japanese, 31 Filipinos, and 26 Vietnamese.

The Asian subcategories were included in the 1980 census tract statistics, but not in the city block data. There were 85 census tracts in St. Joseph County in 1980, of which 44 were in South Bend, 13 in Mishawaka and 28 in the suburban remainder of the county. There were Asians in 20 of the 28 suburban ring census tracts in 1980. The Asian subgroups were widely distributed among these tracts, with up to eight Asian nationality or racial subcategories found in some census tracts. There were no unusual concentrations of any Asian nationality in any sizeable geographic area in suburban St. Joseph County in 1980 that could be considered distinctive ethnic enclaves.

It should also be noted that Asians were under one percent of the total population in 18 of the 20 census tracts in the suburban ring in which they were found in 1980.

At the level of minor civil divisions, Asians resided in 12 of the 13 townships in the suburban remainder of St. Joseph County in 1980. However, the distribution of Asians among these townships was highly uneven. In fact, a single township contained a majority of all Asians in the suburban ring in 1980. The unincorporated part of Clay Township contained 304 of the 530 Asians in the suburban ring in 1980. Asians made up 1.3% of the 23,325 Clay Township residents. This was the highest Asian percentage among the townships of the suburban remainder of St. Joseph County in 1980. The incorporated town of Roseland, surrounded by Clay Township, had 12 Asians, who made up 1.4% of the town's 832 residents. No other town or township in suburban St. Joseph County was more than one-half of one percent Asian in 1980.

There were three major residential census tracts in Clay Township in 1980. Tract 113.02 lay east of Hollyhock Road and north of the Indiana Toll Road. The 192 Asians made up 1.5% of the tract's 12,793 residents in 1980. This census tract had the largest number of Asians and the highest Asian percentage of any tract of conventional housing in the suburban ring in 1980. To the west of this tract, Tract 113.03 had 55 Asian residents, who made up 0.8% of the total population of 6,914. The smallest Asian representation among the three principal census tracts in Clay Township in 1980 was in Tract 113.01,

south of the Toll Road and east of Notre Dame. The seven Asians were 0.2% of the 3,001 residents in 1980.

It should also be mentioned that there was a group quarters population including 41 Asians in the Notre Dame married student housing in the Clay Township portion of Tract 112.

Just to the south of Clay Township, another major part of the 1980 suburban Asian population was located at the main campus of the University of Notre Dame. There were 55 Asians in this institutional population of 7,752. This was in unincorporated Portage Township. There were only three Asians in the separate, residential part of Portage Township, west of the city of South Bend.

The only remaining sizable Asian population in the suburban ring in 1980 was in Penn Township, surrounding the city of Mishawaka on three sides. Asians lived in five of the eight census tracts arrayed north, east and south of Mishawaka that made up unincorporated Penn Township. There were 72 Asians in Penn Township in 1980, who made up 0.5% of the 15,708 residents.

Remaining township Asian populations in 1980 were all quite small, with the largest being 21 persons in unincorporated German Township, 14 in Harris Township and 14 in Centre Township.

At the city block level, the 530 Asians in the suburban ring lived on at least 119 residential blocks in 1980. Clay Township contained 56 of these blocks, and Penn Township had 27. There were no blocks in the suburban ring with Asian majorities in 1980; in fact, Asians were usually a fairly low percentage of the total population on the suburban blocks where they did reside. Despite a slight amount of clustering of Asian-occupied blocks in several Clay Township subdivisions, no distinctive concentrations of Asians were visible in the 1980 census data. In fact, the reverse seemed to be the case, with the small Asian population scattered among a very large number of suburban blocks for a group that comprised less than one percent of the population of the remainder of St. Joseph County in 1980.

Returning to the larger context of St. Joseph County and its three major subdivisions, the county contained 1,178 Asians in 1980. They comprised 0.5% of the 241,617 residents of St. Joseph County at the time of the 1980 census. The largest Asian nationality populations in the county in 1980 were 283 Asian Indians, 279 Chinese, 196 Koreans, 145 Japanese, 136 Vietnamese, and 103 Filipinos.

Among the three major subdivisions, the 500 Asians in the city of South Bend made up 42.4% of the county's Asians in 1980. Mishawaka's 148 Asians were 12.6% of the 1980 county Asian total, while the 530 Asians in the suburban remainder were 45.0% of all St. Joseph County Asians.

of blocks with Asian residents, but these Asians were usually not a very high percentage of the total population in any of these areas. However, the general suburban residential pattern of Asians was one of dispersal.

In 1990, there were 91 blocks in Clay Township with Asian residents, 36 in Penn Township, 16 in Harris Township and 13 in Centre Township. The other Asian-occupied blocks in the suburban ring were scattered among eight townships and seven incorporated towns.

Returning to the larger context of St. Joseph County and its three major subdivisions, the county contained 2,507 Asians, who made up 1.0% of the 247,052 residents in 1990. The 2,507 county Asians included 587 Chinese, 535 Asian Indians, 310 Koreans, 247 Japanese, 234 Filipinos, 201 Vietnamese and 110 Cambodians.

In 1990, South Bend's 916 Asians were 36.5% of all county Asians, while Mishawaka's 284 Asians were 11.3% of that total. The 1,307 Asians in the suburban remainder of the county were 52.1% of all St. Joseph County Asians in 1990. This was the first census in which a majority of county Asians lived in the suburban ring.

Chapter 5

Summary and Conclusions

This study involved a comprehensive examination of the history of racial and ethnic segregation of black, Hispanic, and Asian residents of St. Joseph County. In the case of blacks, we analyzed block data going back to 1940, when such data first became available. For Hispanics and Asians we trace the pattern of settlement starting in 1960. Where possible we have presented data for the major cities, Mishawaka and South Bend, and minor civil divisions, as well as for the county a whole.

Our major findings for each group can be summarized as follows:

Blacks

The black population of St. Joseph County has grown considerably over the last half century and it has also increased as a percent of the total population. Its high concentration in South Bend has remained virtually unchanged over this period. Moreover, after some significant declines in the level of segregation since 1960, the decline has slowed and we appear to be falling behind other comparable communities in dealing with the problem of residential segregation. The black population is also seriously disadvantaged in terms of education, employment, income, and family stability.

Previous research in South Bend (Kenny and Lamanna, 1985; Lamanna and Kenny, 1988) and research done elsewhere (Galster, 1988a, 1988b, 1989; Muth, 1986; Reed, 1991; Turner, 1992; Turner, Struyk and Yinger, 1991; Yinger, 1991, 1992) makes it clear that blacks encounter considerable racial discrimination in the housing market even though it has become progressively more difficult to detect. Nevertheless, it is clear, racial discrimination is commonplace in most American communities.

The Fair Housing Act of 1968 prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, national origin, and religion in most housing transactions. In 1988, the act added two additional protected classes, disability and familial status. Title VII of the act enabled the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development to investigate and conciliate complaints of housing discrimination and authorized the Department of Justice to file suit in some cases. The South Bend Human Rights Commission investigates charges of discrimination based upon these attributes.

The records of complaints filed and inquiries made at the South Bend Human Rights Commission between 1992 and 1996, indicated that race discrimination is by far the leading housing complaint made in South Bend. Eighty percent of the 51 complaints filed and 82 percent of the 569 calls received that dealt with issues covered by the law pertained to race.

Given the often subtle nature of discrimination and the fact that victims are often unaware that they are being discriminated against, efforts to inform local residents and tenants about the fair housing laws and how to potentially detect discrimination must continue to be an important function of the Human Rights Commission.

Hispanics

The Hispanic population has grown very rapidly since 1960, it is becoming increasingly concentrated in the city of South Bend and its level of segregation, while still lower than that of blacks, is much closer to the black level than is generally the case. In South Bend it is only 3.3 points lower. For the county the difference is 8.1 points. Nationally, the Hispanic Score is usually 20 points lower than the black score (Farley and Frey, 1994). The large portion that are foreign born, the recency of their immigration, and the lack of fluency in English among many factors may partially account for this observed tendency to settle in clusters.

Asians

The Asian population is a very small but a growing segment of the population. Because of its small size we were not able to compute an index of segregation but it appears to be widely dispersed throughout the county and has suburbanized much more rapidly than Hispanics or blacks. The group is highly educated and very affluent and at the present time does not appear to pose any problems in terms of segregation.

County

Overall the major issue for the county as a whole is the extreme concentration of Hispanics and especially blacks in South Bend. Since we will be discussing Mishawaka and South Bend separately we will focus in this section on the portion of the county outside these two cities. The suburban ring contains more than a third of the county population and has tripled its population since 1940, but in a least one respect it has remained relatively unchanged. In 1990, it had fewer than 1500 black residents and fewer than 1200 Hispanic residents out of a population of almost 100,000.

South Bend

The major finding regarding South Bend concerns the failure to make more than modest progress during the 1980's in reducing the residential segregation of blacks. Seven tracts now have black majorities and 5 additional tracts (2,4,6, 24, and 30) seem to be headed that way. The challenge for South Bend will be to stabilize the areas that seem to be in transition and increase the dispersion of blacks to areas where they are underrepresented.

The growing concentration of Hispanics in tracts 22, 24 , 27 , 28, and 34 while not a problem at the moment bears monitoring on a long term basis.

Mishawaka

All three groups--blacks, Hispanics, and Asians--remain underrepresented in Mishawaka. Modest improvement has been made in the 1980's with the movement of some Hispanics into the older part of town and the increase in black population in the North annexed area but in no sector of the city do these groups constitute as much as 5 percent of the population and in most areas it is under 2 percent. The South annexed areas are

especially deficient in this respect. Type of housing seems to be a critical variable here. Areas with new apartments seem to be more integrated than areas with only single detached units.

Chapter 6

Recommendations

If the level of residential segregation in St. Joseph County and its various components is to be reduced, then it seems certain barriers impediments must be removed.

The first requirement is that the problem must be perceived as a problem. Both minority and majority populations must recognize the negative consequences of racial and ethnic segregation and the advantages of integrated residential neighborhoods. Moreover, people don't seem to have realistic knowledge about the factual situation. In the recent school board election several candidates argued that busing for the purpose of school desegregation is no longer necessary because our neighborhoods are "naturally" integrated. Our recommendation, therefore, is that the Commission undertake a program of public education designed to highlight the levels of existent segregation, the costs to the community this entails, and the advantages to changing the situation.

A second recommendation grows out of what we feel is the need for a "new vision" of what a metropolitan community could be (see Downs, 1994). Although there is a high degree of interdependence between the components of the metropolitan area, our governmental institutions and public attitudes don't always reflect this. Recent disputes over the proposed county option tax, school redistricting, library services, and the new restrictions on annexation, all suggest that there is very little overall sense of community here. This is a difficult and long range project but the Commission should take an active role in promoting a new sense of community in St. Joseph County.

Voluntary integration resulting from private decisions in the housing market will not be sufficient to overcome the formidable barriers that have developed over the years. The inertia and subtle and not so subtle resistance to racial and ethnic integration from within the minority communities as well as from the majority population, will not be overcome without concerted effort. The differential experience between South Bend and the rest of the county--especially as reflected in the differences within townships between those portions within the city and the remainder--suggest that the vigorous enforcement of fair housing laws by a countywide agency would prove very beneficial.

The national evidence and local experience with new developments indicates that a policy of growth and the promotion of new development can be a positive in terms of job creation and enhancement of economic opportunity for both whites and minorities but also for the opportunity it opens up for achieving a more racially integrated community.

It is doubtful that the lower socio-economic status of blacks and Hispanics explains all of their current segregation. Nevertheless, until the gaps in education, employment, income, and family stability are closed, it is unlikely there will be radical change in the patterns of segregation. We, therefore, recommend that the community, as part of a comprehensive assault on segregation, give high priority to education and economic policies that will enhance the economic and social status of blacks and Hispanics.

The danger of resegregation is real and we recommend that the Commission and community review their policies especially regarding the location of Section 8 housing with an eye to avoiding the emergence of new racially and economically segregated neighborhoods.

Finally, we recommend that the commission study the experience of communities such as nearby Kokomo (reduced segregation by 11 points between 1980 and 1990) that have made significant progress in reducing their levels of segregation. What accounts for the change? Was it planned or directed by the community? Can it be emulated here?

References

Abramsom, Allan J., Mitchell S. Tobin, and Matthew R. VanderGoot. 1995. "The changing Geography of Metropolitan Opportunity: The Segregation of the Poor in U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 1970-1990," *Housing Policy Debate*. Fannie Mae. 6: 45-72.

Alba, R. D. and J. R. Logan. 1991. "Variations on Two Themes: Racial and Ethnic Patterns in the Attainment of Suburban Residence." *Demography*, 28:431-53.

Alba, Richard D., and John R. Logan. 1993. "Minority Proximity to Whites in Suburbs: An Individual Level Analysis of Segregation." *American Journal of Sociology*. 98(6): 1388-1427.

Betanour, John J. 1996. "The Settlement Experience of Latinos in Chicago: Segregation, Speculation, and the Ecology Model." *Social Forces*, 74(4):1229-1324.

Bobo, Lawrence, Howard Schuman, and Charlotte Steeh. 1986. "Changing Attitudes Toward Residential Integration." In *Housing Desegregation and Federal Policy*, John M. Goering (ed.), Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 152-69.

Bobo, Lawrence and Camille L. Zubrinsky, 1996. "Attitudes on Residential Integration: Perceived Status Differences, Mere In-Group Preference, or Racial Prejudice?" *Social Forces*, 74(3):883-909.

Chambers, Daniel N. 1992. "The Racial Housing Price Differential and Racially Transitional Neighborhoods." *Journal of Urban Economics*, 32(2):24-32.

Clark, William A. V. 1986. "Residential Segregation in American Cities: A Review and Interpretation." *Population Research and Policy Review*. 5:95-127.

Clark, William A. V. 1988. "Understanding Residential Segregation in American Cities: Interpreting the Evidence, A Reply to Galster." *Population Research and Policy Review*, 7:113-21.

Clark, William A. V. 1991. "Residential Preferences and Neighborhood Racial Segregation: A Test of the Schelling Segregation Model." *Demography*, 28(1):1-19.

Clark, William A. V. 1992. "Residential Preferences and Residential Choices in Multiethnic Context." *Demography*, 29:451-56.

Denton, N. and D. S. Massey. 1991. "Patterns of Neighborhood Transition in a Multi-Ethnic World: U.S. Metropolitan Areas 1970-1980." *Demography* 28:41-63.

Downs, Anthony. 1994. *New Visions for Metropolitan Areas*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution.

Duncan, O.D. and B. Duncan. 1955. "A Methodological Analysis of Segregation Indexes." *American Sociological Review*, 20:210-17.

Emerson, Michael O. 1994. "Is It Different in Dixie? Percent Black and Residential Segregation in the South and non-South." *The Sociological Quarterly*. 35(4): 571-580.

Farley, Reynolds, and William H. Frey. 1992. *Changes in the Segregation of Whites from Blacks During the 1980s: Small Steps Toward a More Racially Integrated Society*. Research Report, Population Studies Center, University of Michigan.

Farley, Reynolds, and William H. Frey. 1994. "Changes in the Segregation of Whites from Blacks during the 1980's: Small Steps Toward a More Integrated Society." *American Sociological Review*. 59: 23-63.

Farley, Reynolds, and Charlotte Steeh, Tara Jackson, Maria Krysan and Keith Reeves. 1993. "Continued Racial Residential Segregation in Detroit: 'Chocolate City, Vanilla Suburbs' Revisited." *Journal of Housing Research*. 4: 1-38.

Frey, William H. 1991. "Are Two Americas Emerging?" *Population Today*. October, 6-8.

Frey, William H. 1995. "The New Geography of Population Shifts: Trends Toward Balkanization." Pp. 271-334 in *State of the Union: America in the 1990s*; Vol. 2: *Social Trends*. Ed. by Reynolds Farley, New York: Russell Sage.

Frey, William H. and Reynolds Farley. 1996. "Latino, Asian, and Black Segregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas: Are Multiethnic Metros Different?" *Demography* 33(1):35-50.

Galster, George. 1982. "Black and White Preferences for Neighborhood Racial Composition." *AREVEA Journal: Journal of the American Real Estate and Urban Economics Association*. 10:39-66.

Galster, George. 1988a. "Assessing the Causes of Racial Segregation: A Methodological Critique." *Journal of Urban Affairs*. 10(4):395-407.

Galster, George. 1988b. "Residential Segregation in American Cities: A Contrary Review." *Population Research and Policy Review*, 7:93-112.

Galster, George. 1989. "Residential Segregation in American Cities": A Further Response to Clark." *Population Research and Policy Review*. 8:181-92.

Galster, George. 1991a. "Black Suburbanization: Has It Changed the Relative Location of Races?" *Urban Affairs Quarterly*. 26(4): 621-628.

Galster, George. 1991b. "Housing Discrimination and Urban Poverty of African-Americans." *Journal of Housing Research*. 2: 87-122.

Galster, George. "Racial Discrimination in Housing Markets during the 1980's: A Review of the Audit Evidence," *JPER*. 9: 3, 165-175.

Galster, George and W. Mark Keeney. 1988. "Race, Residence, Discrimination, and Economic Opportunity: Modeling the Nexus of Urban Racial Phenomena." *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 24(1):87-117.

Galster, George, and Sean P Killen. 1995. "The Geography of Metropolitan Opportunity: A Reconnaissance and Conceptual Framework." *Housing Policy Debate*. Fannie Mae, 6: 7-43.

Goering, John (ed.). 1986. *Housing Desegregation and Federal Policy*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Kain, John F. 1986. "The Influence of Race and Income on Racial Segregation and Housing Policy." Pp. 99-118 in *Housing Desegregation and Federal Policy*. John M. Goering (ed), Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press.

Kain, John F. 1992. "The Spatial Mismatch Hypothesis: Three Decades Later." *Housing Policy Debate*. Fannie Mae. 3(2): 371-460.

Keating, W. Dennis. 1994. *The Suburban Racial Dilemma: Housing and Neighborhoods*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Kenny, Timothy J. 1980. *Black Population Distribution and Racial Change in Major American Cities 1940-1970: A Modified Sector Model of Black Neighborhood Growth*. Ph.D. Dissertation. Loyola University of Chicago. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfils.

Kenny, Timothy J. and Richard A. Lamanna. 1985. *Equal Treatment of Blacks in the Rental Market in the City of South Bend*. South Bend, IN: South Bend Human Rights Commission.

Kunen, James J. 1996. The End of Integration. *Time*, April 29, 38-45.

Lamanna, Richard A. and Timothy J. Kenny. 1983. *The Residential Distribution of the Black Population of South Bend 1940-1980*. South Bend, IN: South Bend Human Rights Commission.

Lamanna, Richard A. and Timothy J. Kenny. 1984. "Majority of South Bend Blacks Could Afford Housing Outside City." *South Bend Tribune*, 11:23.

Lamanna, Richard A. and Timothy J. Kenny. 1988. *Equal Housing Opportunity in the City of South Bend, Indiana*. South Bend, IN: South Bend Human Rights Comission.

Lee, B. A. and P. Wood. 1991. "Is Neighborhood Racial Succession Place-Specific?" *Demography*, 28:21-40.

Logan, John R., Richard D. Alba, and Shu-Yin Leung. 1996. Minority Access to White Suburbs: A Multiregional Comparison," *Social Forces*, 74(3):851-881.

Massey, Douglas S. 1992. "Racial Identity and the Spatial Assimilation of Mexicans in the United States." *Social Science Research*. 21: 235-260.

Massey, Douglas S. 1996. "Concentrating Poverty Breeds Violence." *Population Today*. June/July, 5.

Massey, Douglas S. and Nancy A. Denton. 1988. "The Dimensions of Residential Segregation." *Social Forces*, 67:281-315.

Massey, Douglas S. and Nancy A. Denton. 1989. "Hypersegregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas: Black and Hispanic Segregation along Five Dimensions." *Demography*, 26:373-92.

Massey, Douglas S. and Nancy A. Denton. 1992. "Residential Segregation of Asian-Origin Groups in U.S. Metropolitan Areas." *Sociology and Social Research*. 76(4): 170-177.

Massey, Douglas S. and Nancy A. Denton. 1993. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Massey, Douglas S. and Eric Fong. 1990. "Segregation and Neighborhood Quality: Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians in the San Francisco Metropolitan Area." *Social Forces*. 69(1): 15-32.

Massey, Douglas S. and Andrew B. Gross. 1991. "Explaining Trends in Racial Segregation, 1970-1980." *Urban Affairs Quarterly*. 27(1): 13-35.

Massey, Douglas S., Andrew B. Gross and Kumiko Shibuya. 1994. "Migration, Segregation, and the Geographic Concentration of Poverty." *American Sociological Review*. 59(June): 425-445.

Massey, Douglas S. and Shawn M. Kanaiavpuni. 1993. "Public Housing and the Concentration of Poverty." *Social Science Quarterly*. 74(1):

Murdock, Steve H., Sean-Shong Hwang, and Md. Nazrul Hogue. 1994. "Nonmetropolitan Residential Segregation Revisited." *Rural Sociology*, 59(2):236-254.

Muth, Richard F. 1986. "The Causes of Housing Segregation." *Issues in Housing Discrimination: A Consultation/Hearing of the United States Commission on Civil Rights*. Washington, D.C. 12-13 Nov 1985, Vol. 1:3-13.

O'Hare, William P. and William H. Frey. 1992. "Booming, Suburban and Black." *American Demographics*. September, 30-38.

Reed, Veronica M. 1991. "Civil Rights Legislation and the Housing Status of Black Americans: Evidence from Fair Housing Audits and Segregation Indices." *Review of Black Political Economy*. 19(Winter/Spring): 29-42.

Rosenbaum, James E. 1995. "Changing the Geography of Opportunity by Expanding Residential Choice: Lessons from the Gautreaux Program." *Housing Policy Debate*. Fannie Mae. 6: 231-269.

Rosenbaum, James E., Susan J. Popkin, Julie E. Kaufman, and Jennifer Rusin. 1991. "Social Integration of Low-Income Black Adults in Middle-Class White Suburbs." *Social Problems*, 38(4):448-461.

Santiago, Ann M. and Margaret Wilder. 1991. "Residential Segregation and Links to Minority Poverty: The Case of Latinos in the United States." *Social Problems*. 38(4): 492-515.

Schelling, Thomas C. 1972. "A Process of Residential Segregation: Neighborhood Tipping." In *Racial Discrimination in Economic Life*. Anthony Pascal (ed.). 157-184. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Schill, Michael H. and Susan M. Wachter. 1995. "Housing Market Constraints and Spatial

Stratification by Income and Race." *Housing Policy Debate*. 6: 141-167.

Schneider, Mark and Thomas Phelan. 1993. "Black Suburbanization in the 1980s" *Demography*. 30(2): 269-279.

Shihadeh, Edward S. and Nicole Flynn. 1996. "Segregation and Crime: The Effect of Black Isolation on the Rates of Black Urban Violence." *Social Forces*, 74(4):1325-1352.

Sigelman, Lee and Susan Welch. 1993. "The Contact Hypothesis Revisited: Black-White Interaction and Positive Racial Attitudes. *Social Forces*, 71:781-95.

Taeuber, Karl E. 1982. "School Desegregation and Racial Housing Patterns," Pp. 53-65 in *Impact of Segregation*. Daniel J. Monti (ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Taeuber, Karl E. 1989. "Residence and Race: 1619 to 2019." In *Race: Twentieth Century Dilemmas - Twenty-First Century Prognosis*. Winston A. Van Horne (ed.). 121-153. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Institute on Race and Ethnicity.

Taeuber, Karl and Alma Taeuber. 1965. *Negroes in Cities: Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing.

Tobin, Gary A. (ed.) 1987. *Divided Neighborhoods: Changing Patterns of Racial Segregation*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Turner, Margery Austin. 1992. "Discrimination in Urban Housing Markets: Lessons from Fair Housing Audits." *Housing Policy Debate*. Fannie Mae. 3(2): 185-215.

Turner, Margery Austin, Raymond J. Struyk and John Yinger. 1991. *Housing Discrimination Study: Synthesis*. Prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development by the Urban Institute.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990. Census of Population and Housing.

Waldorf, Brigitte S. 1993. "Segregation in Urban Space: A New Measurement Approach." *Urban Studies*. 30(7): 1151-1164.

White, M. J., A. E. Biddlecom, and S. Guo. 1993. "Immigration, Naturalization and Residential Assimilation Among Asian Americans in 1980." *Social Forces*, 72:93-117.

Wong, David W. S. 1993. "Spatial Indices of Segregation." *Urban Studies*. 30(3): 559-572.

Yinger, John. 1991. *Housing Discrimination Study: Incidence of Discrimination and Variation in Discriminatory Behavior*. Prepared for U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development by the Urban Institute.

Yinger, John. 1992. *The Choice to Discriminate: Evidence from the 1989 Housing Discrimination Study*. New York: Syracuse University Press.

Appendix A

Methodology of Segregation Index

The gauge used to measure the overall level of segregation is called the index of segregation or sometimes the index of dissimilarity. The index is a statistical measure which enables one to compare the distribution of two populations over a given geographic areas. For example we might compare the distribution of the black population to that of the white population in the city of South Bend by city block. In the absence of segregation, that is, if race were not at all associated with residential location, each block would have the same ratio of black to white residents as the city as a whole. If the city were totally segregated all city blocks would be either all white or all black, that is, there would be no racially mixed blocks.

The index scores can vary from 0 (no segregation) to 100 (total segregation). The scores can be thought of as the percent of total segregation, e.g. a score of 75 would indicate that the city was 75% segregated. Another way to interpret the scores would be as the percent of a group that would have to relocate to eliminate the segregation e.g. 75% of all blacks would have to move to blocks where they are underrepresented in order to eliminate the segregation.

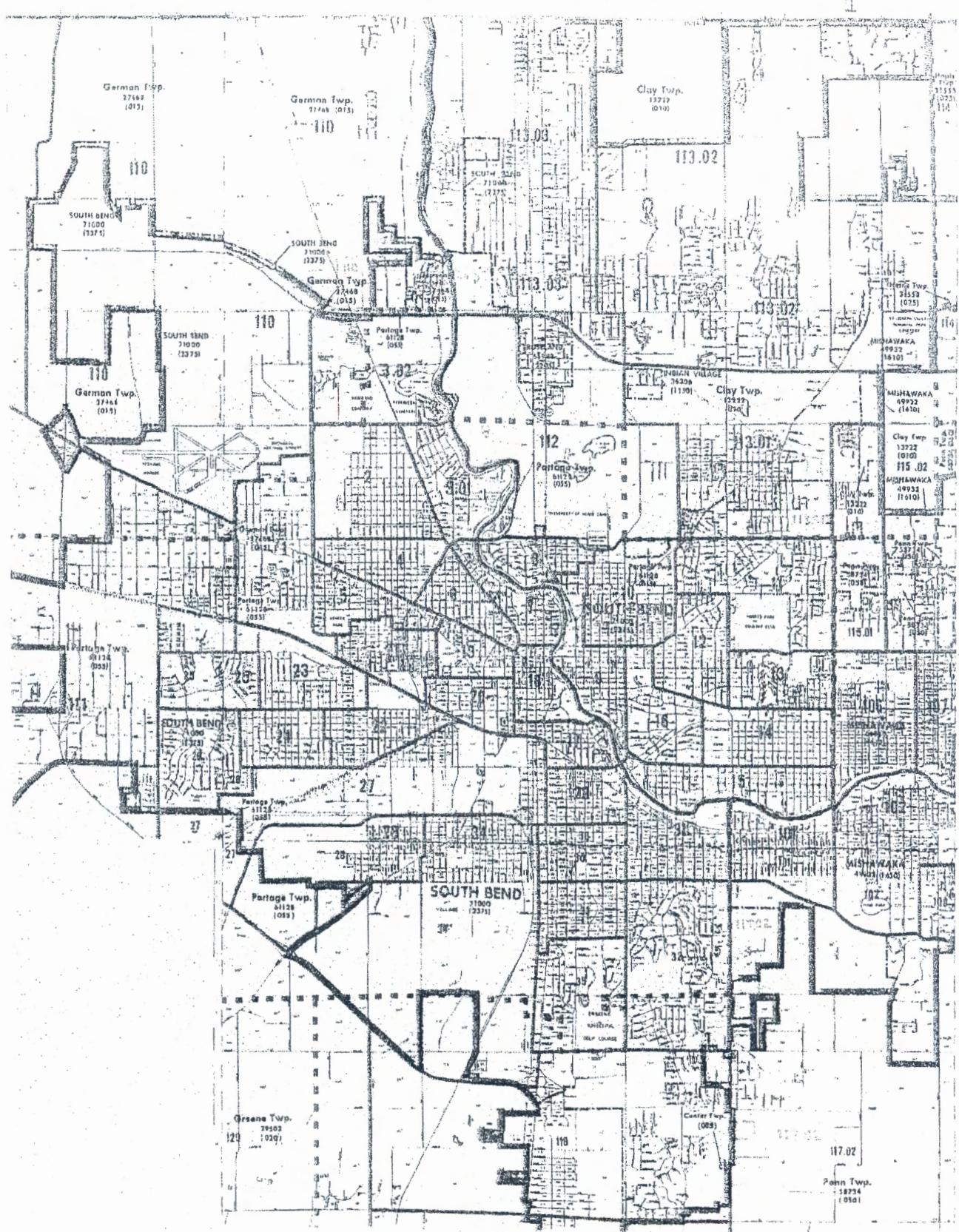
It should be noted that in 1940, 1950 and 1960 the data were computed from census reports that used dwelling units occupied by nonwhites. In 1970, 1980 and 1990 computations were based on black persons. To the extent that black households may differ in size from white households there may be some slight distortion in the scores but we do not feel it is significant.

For computational procedures for the index of segregation and a further discussion of the measurement of segregation see Duncan and Duncan, 1955; Taeuber and Tacuber, 1965; Massey and Denton, 1993; Wong, 1993.

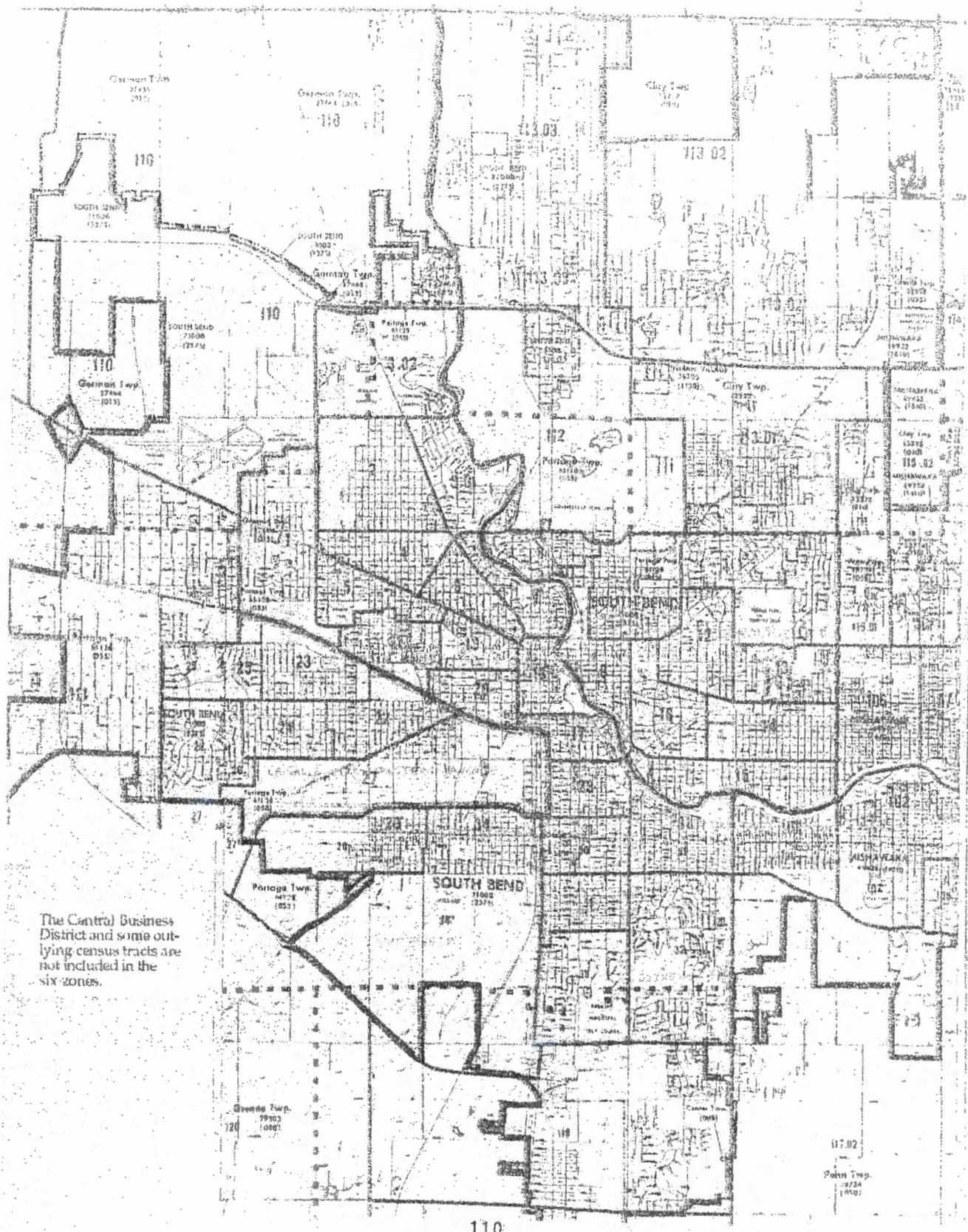
Appendix B

Maps

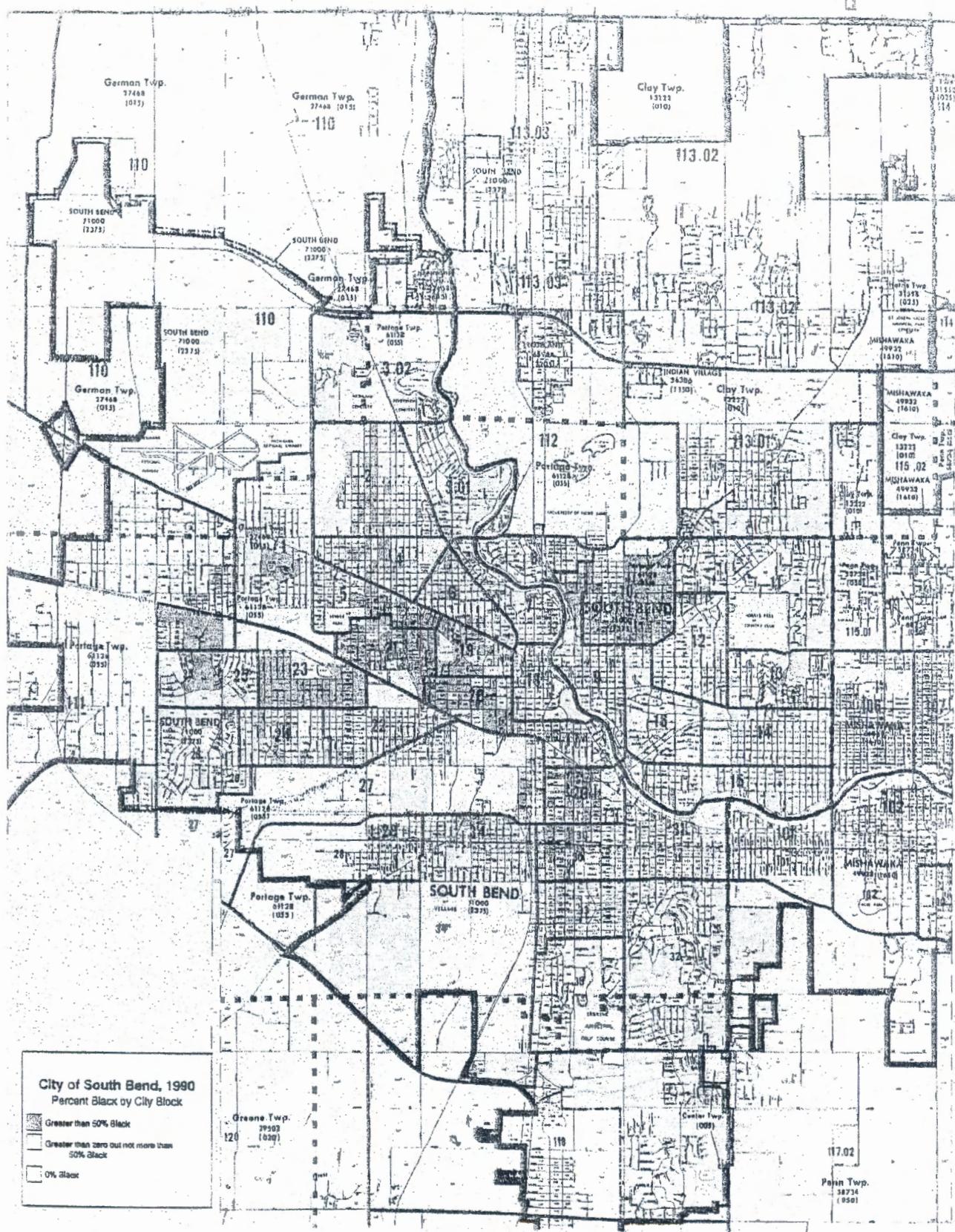
Map 1. South Bend Census Tracts, 1990



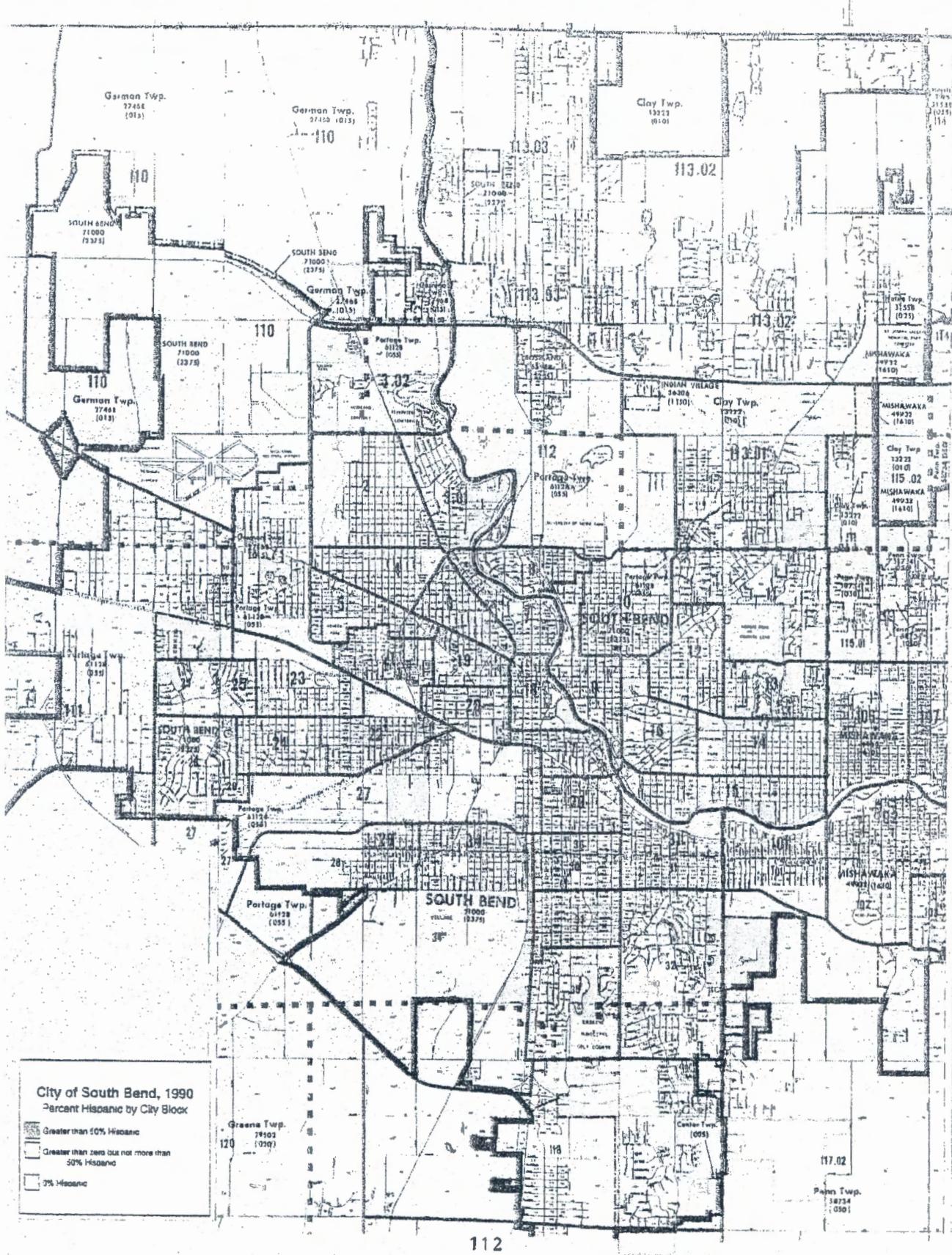
Map 2, South Bend Zones, 1990



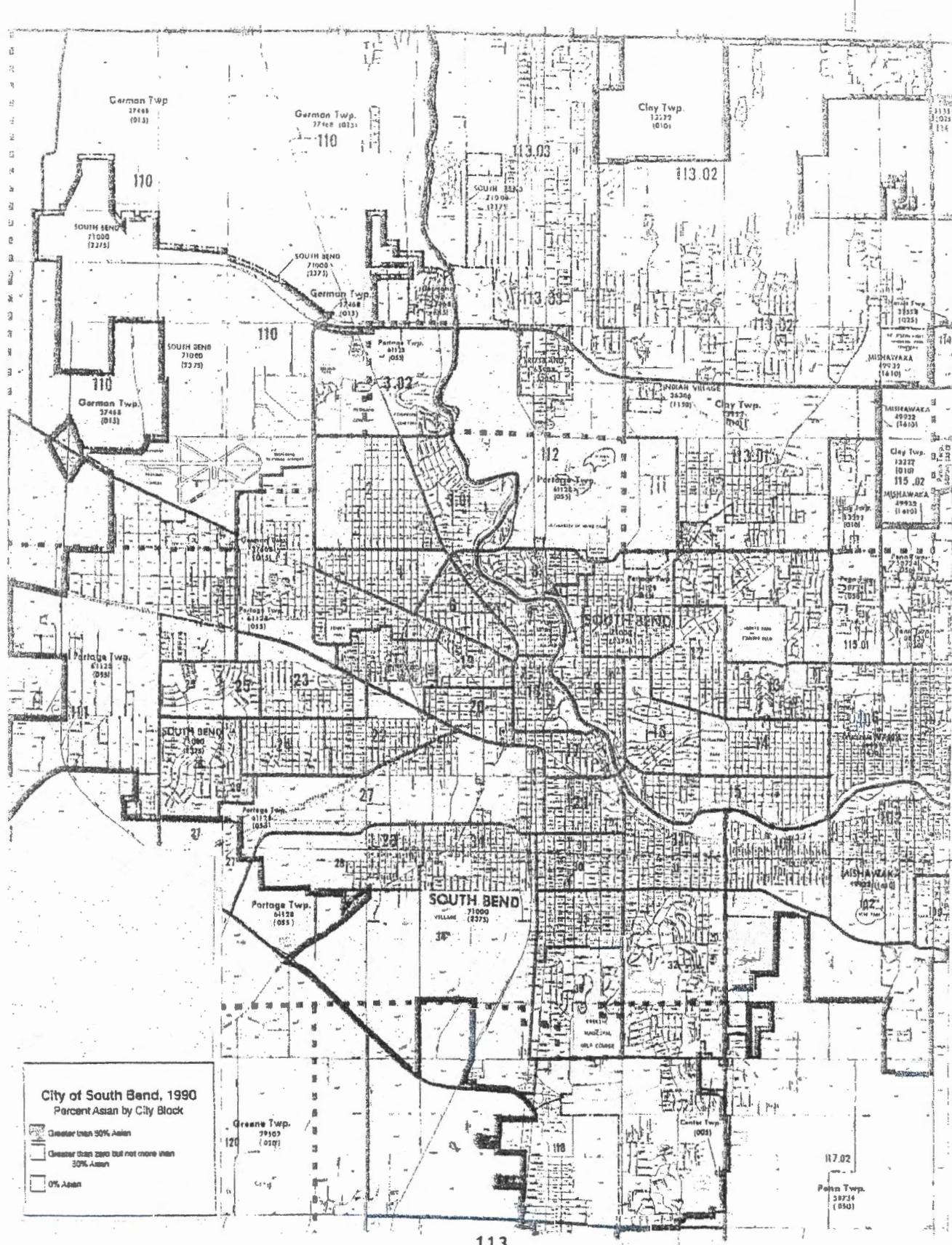
Map 3, Percent Black by City Block, South Bend, 1990



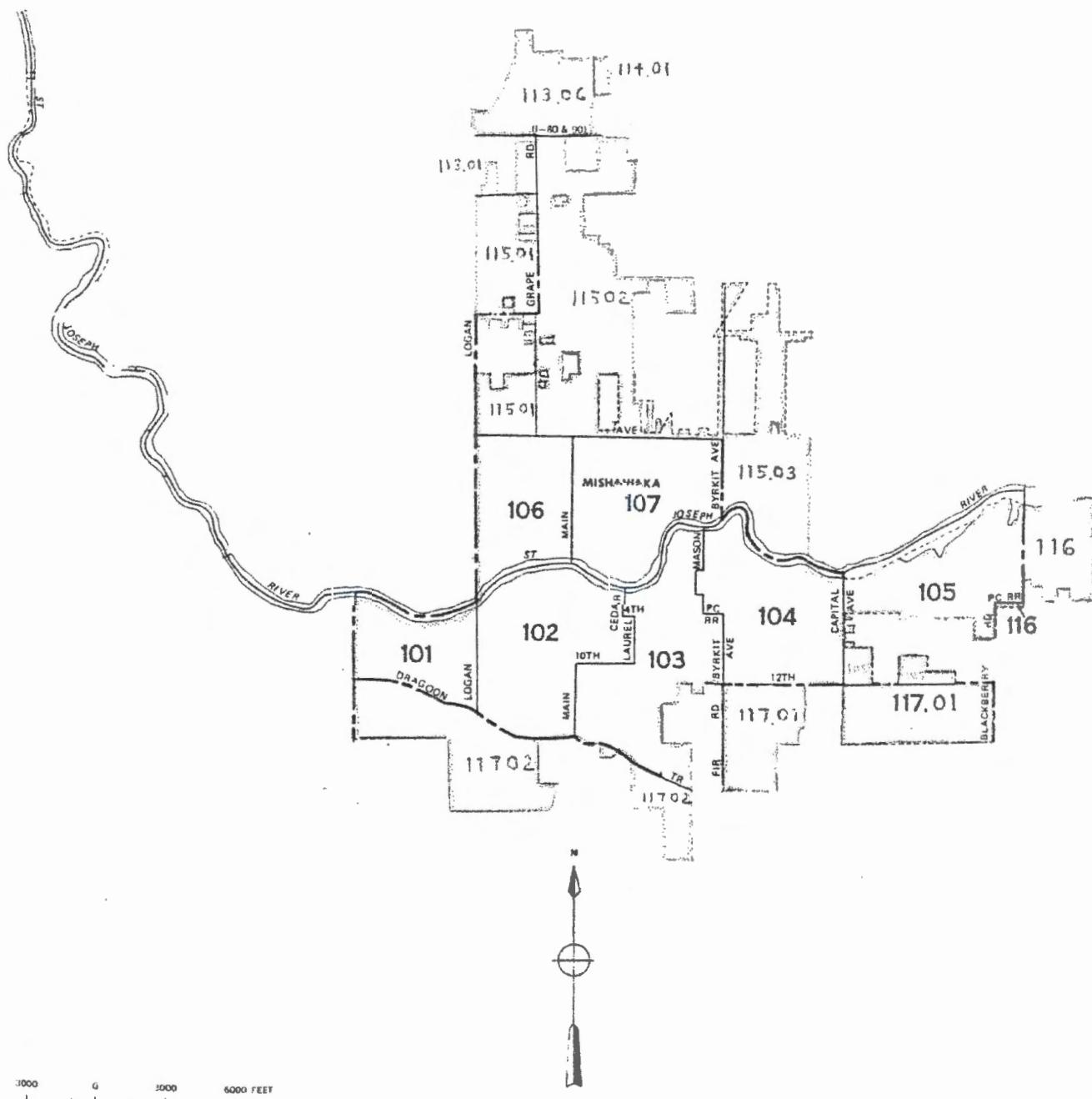
Map 4, Percent Hispanic by City Block, South Bend, 1990



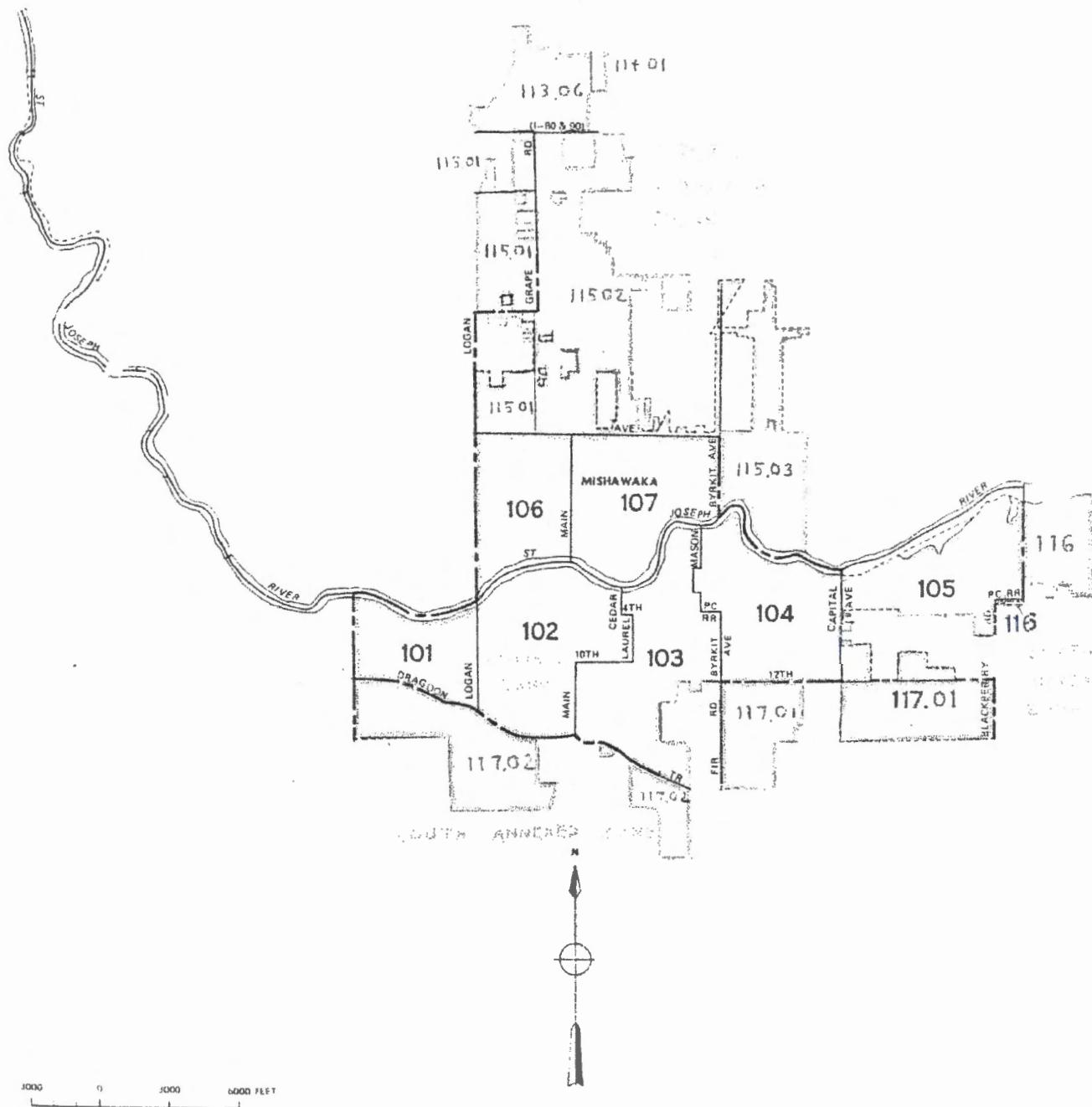
Map 5. Percent Asian by City Block, South Bend, 1990

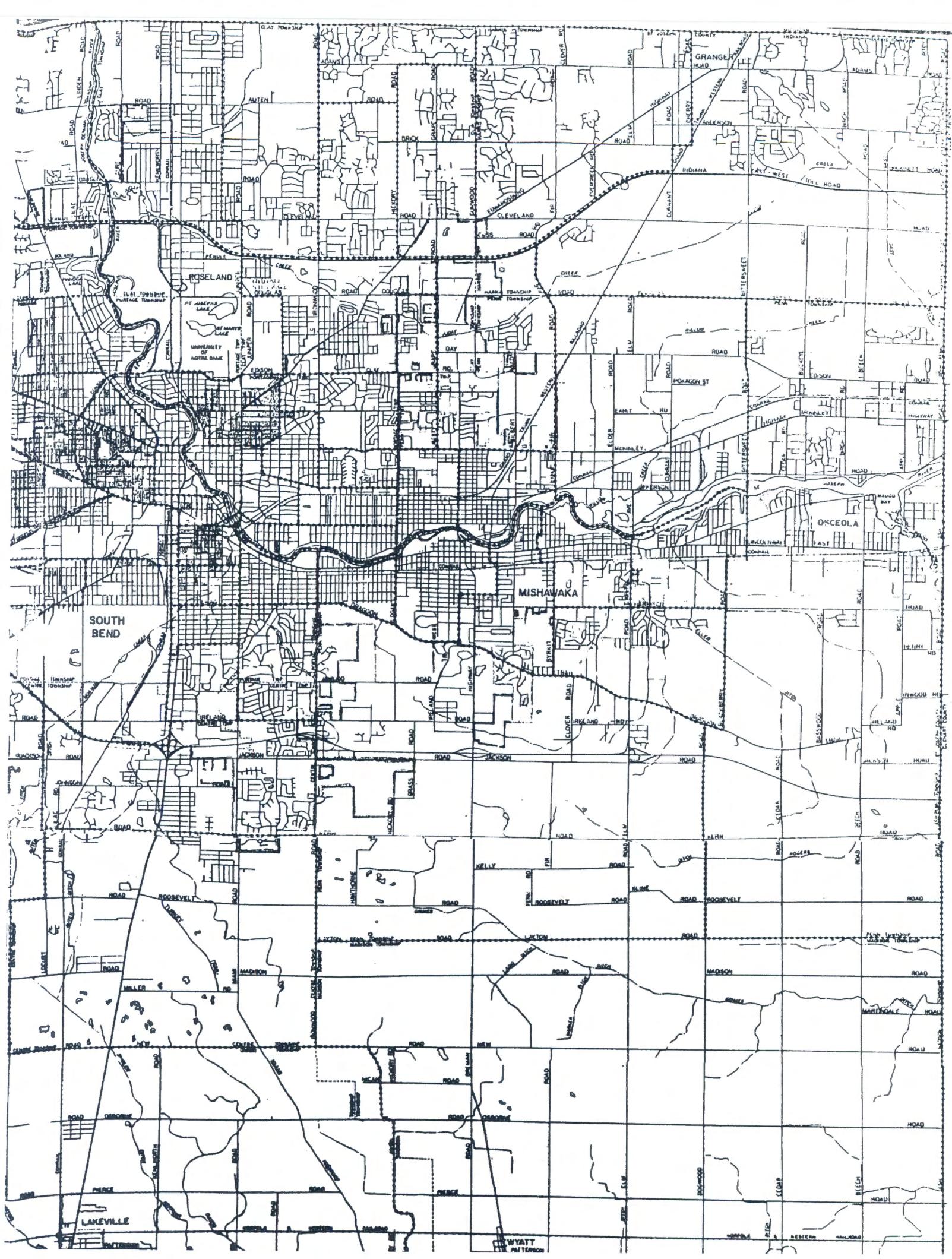


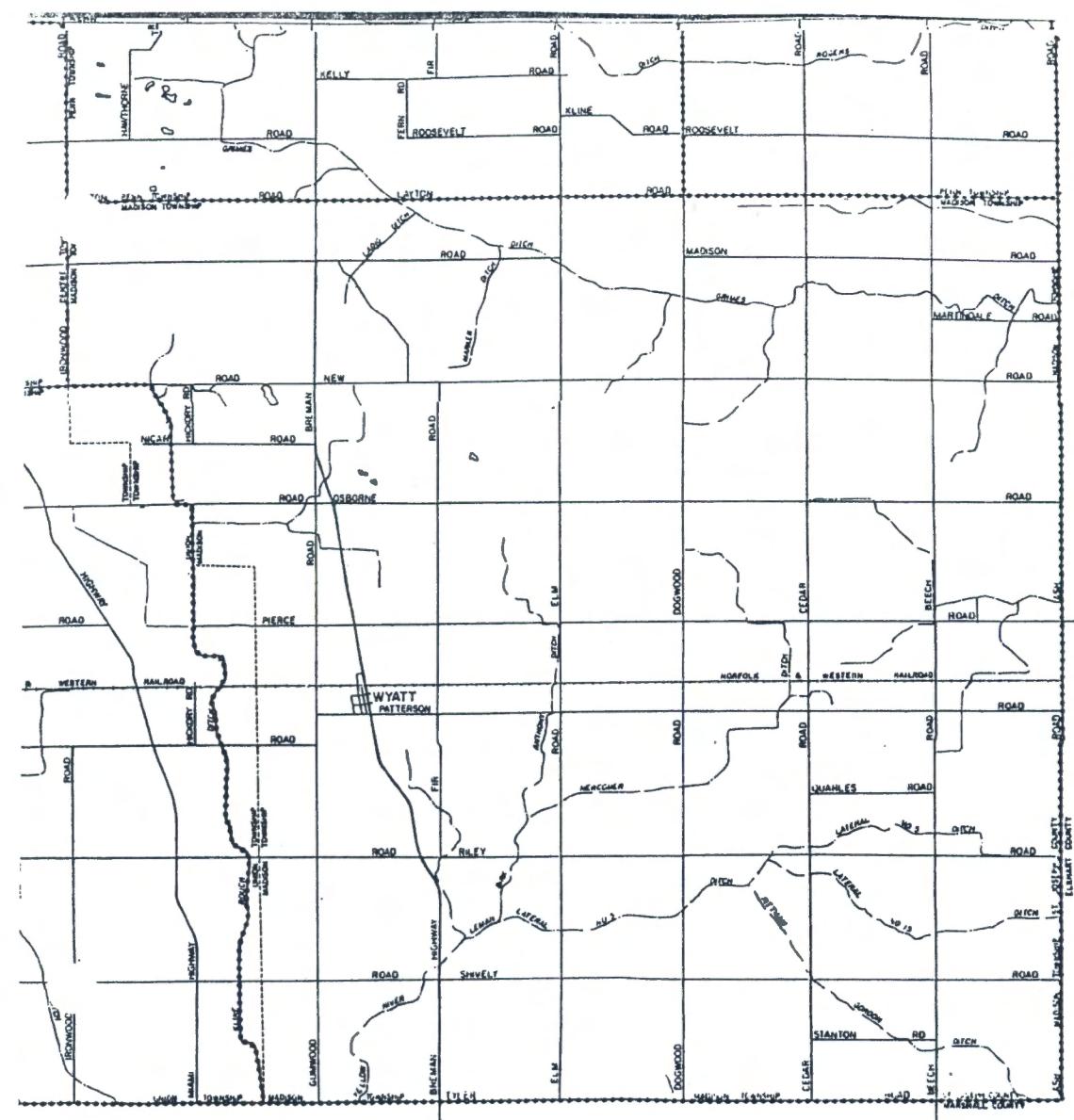
Map 6, Mishawaka Census Tracts, 1990



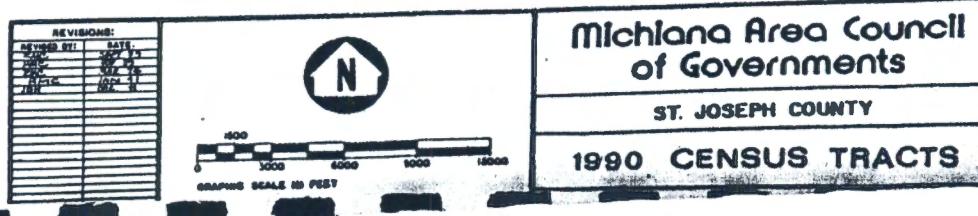
Map 7, Mishawaka Zones, 1990

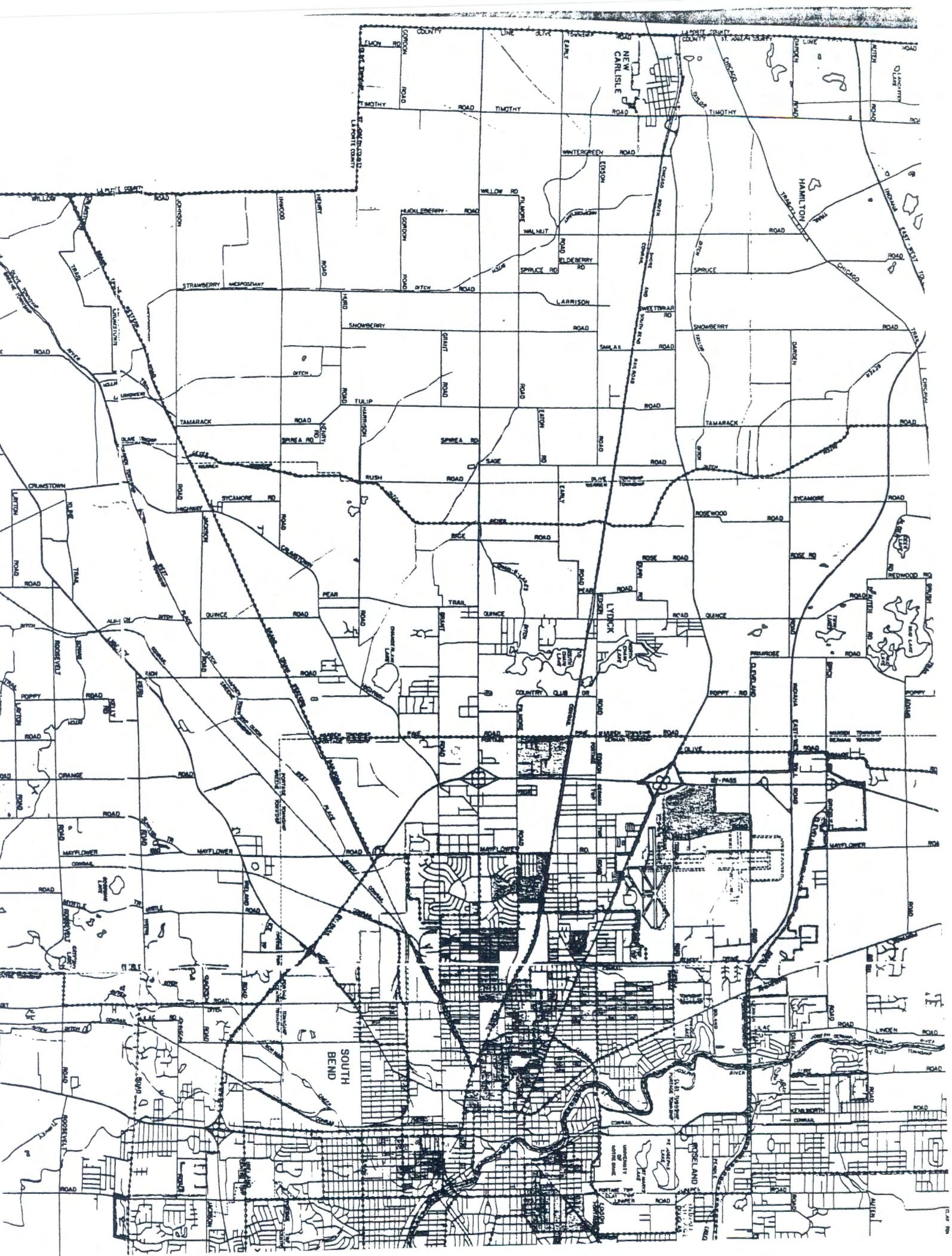


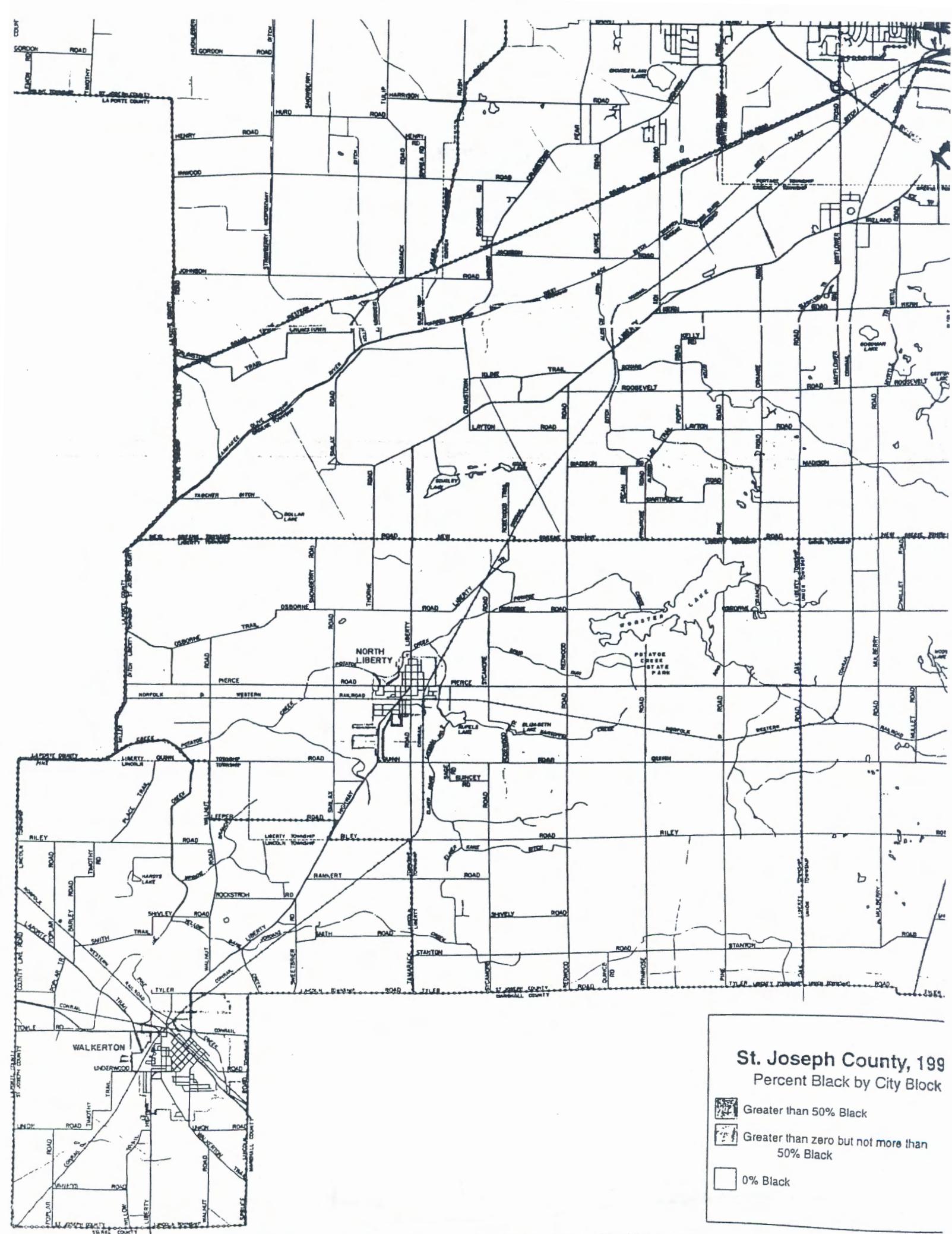


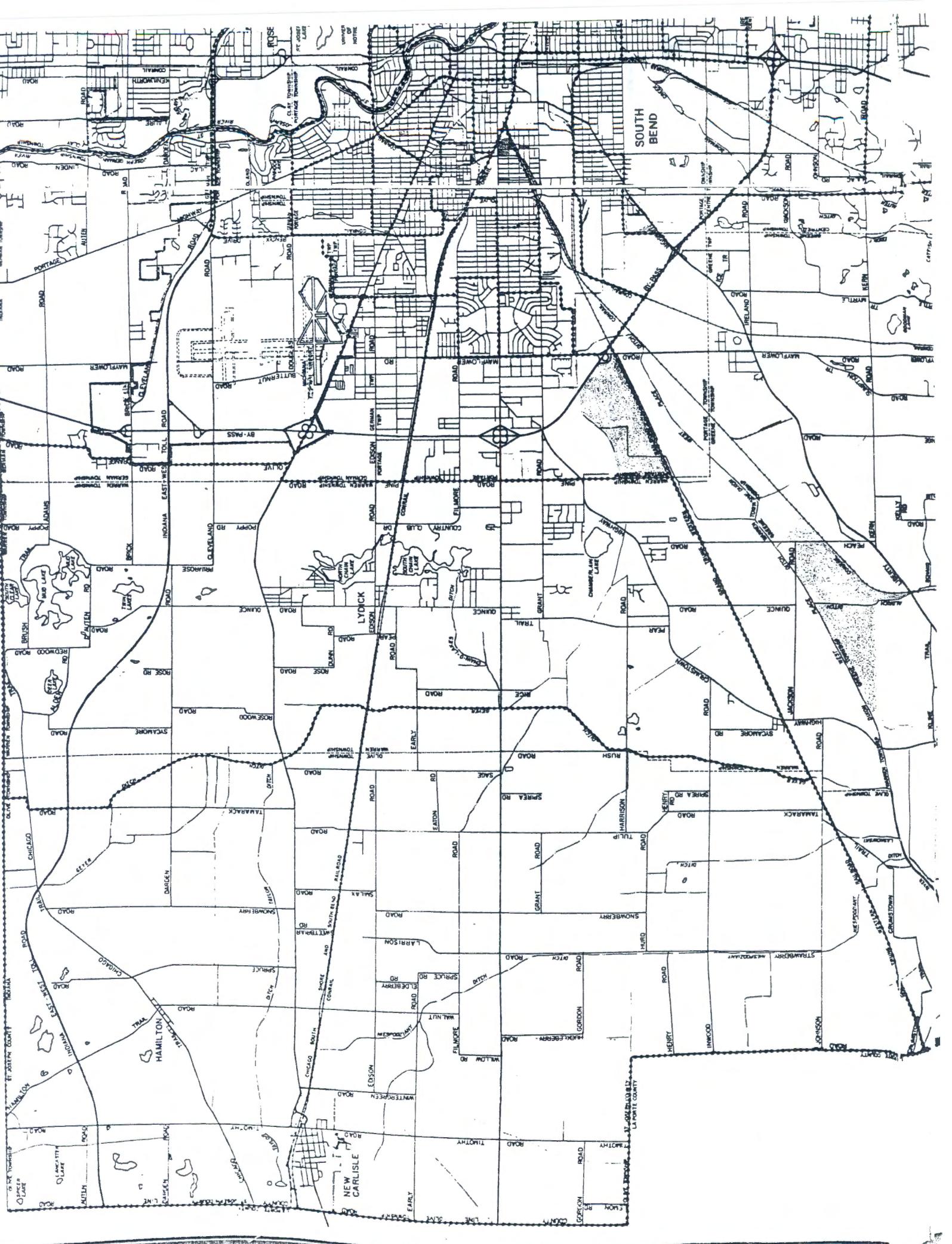


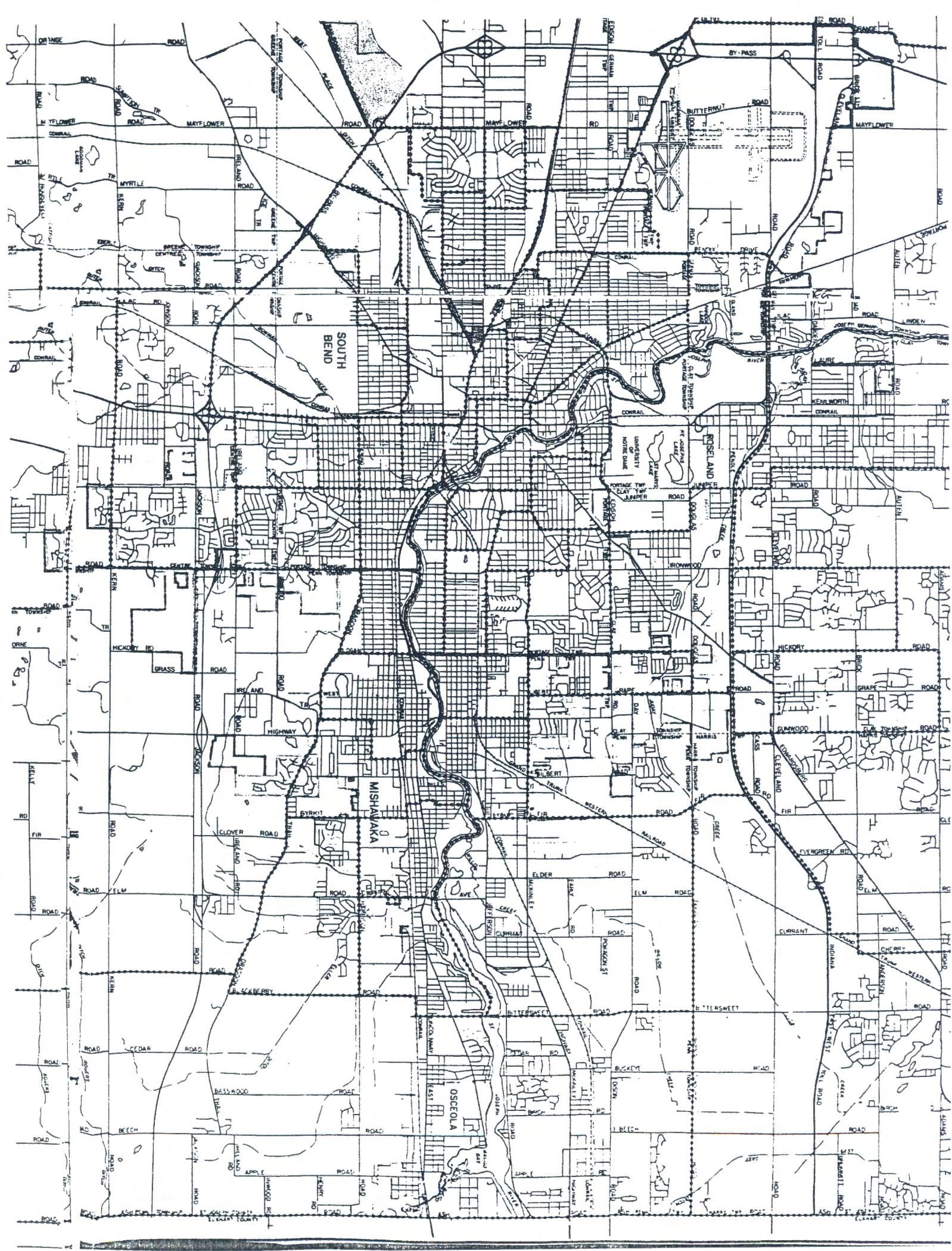
Map 8, Percent Black by City Block, St. Joseph County, 1990

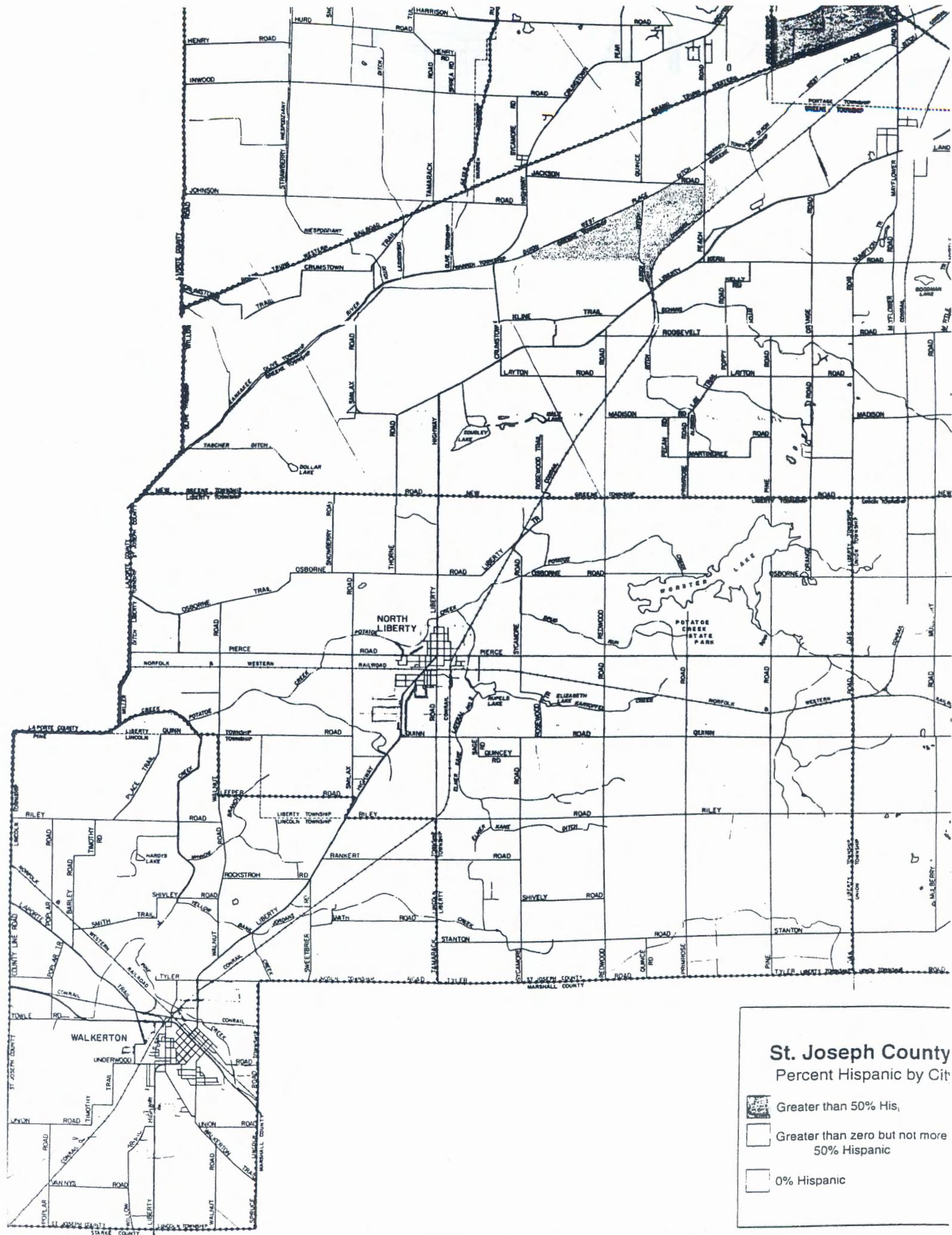


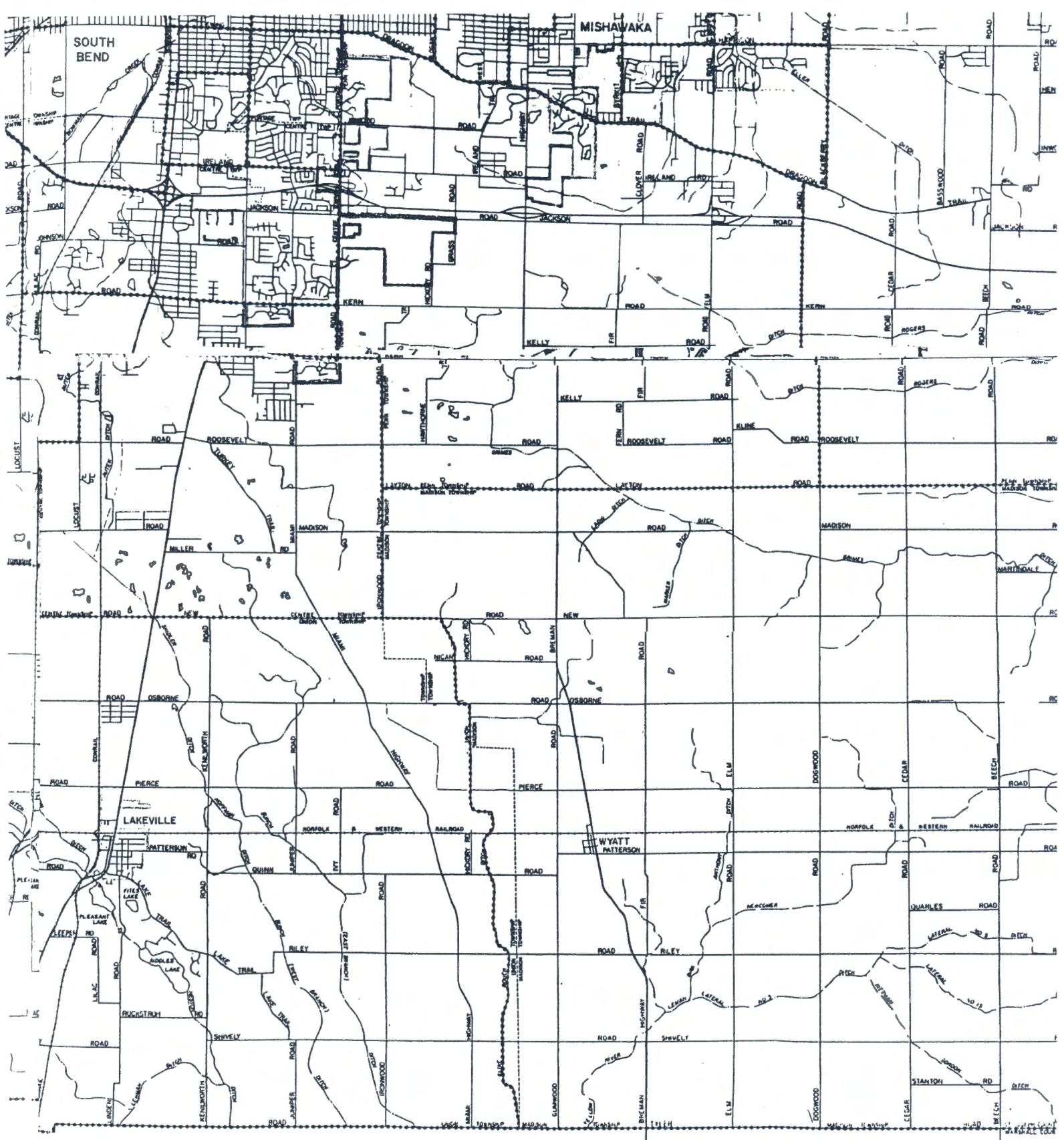












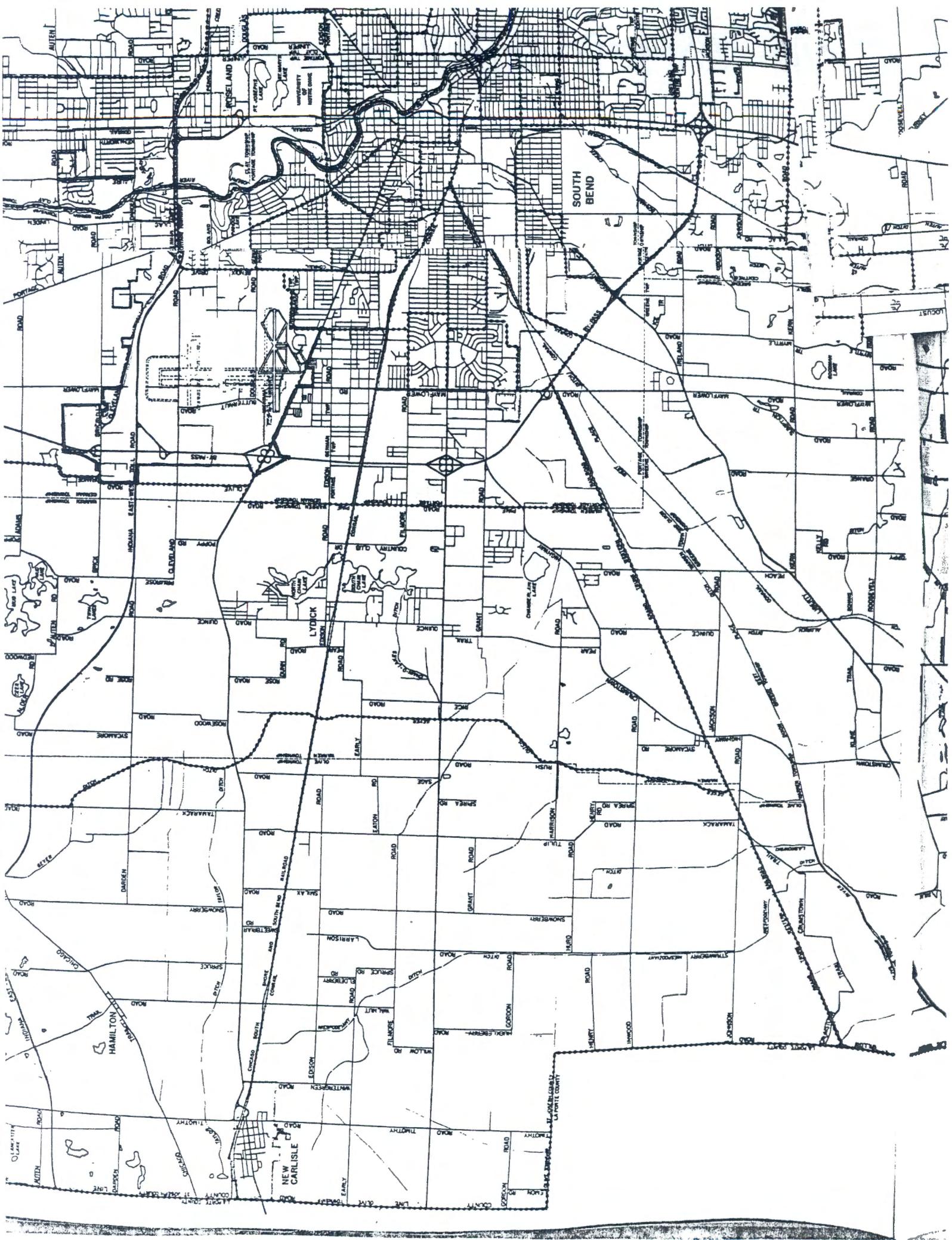
Map 8, Percent Black by City Block, St. Joseph County, 1990



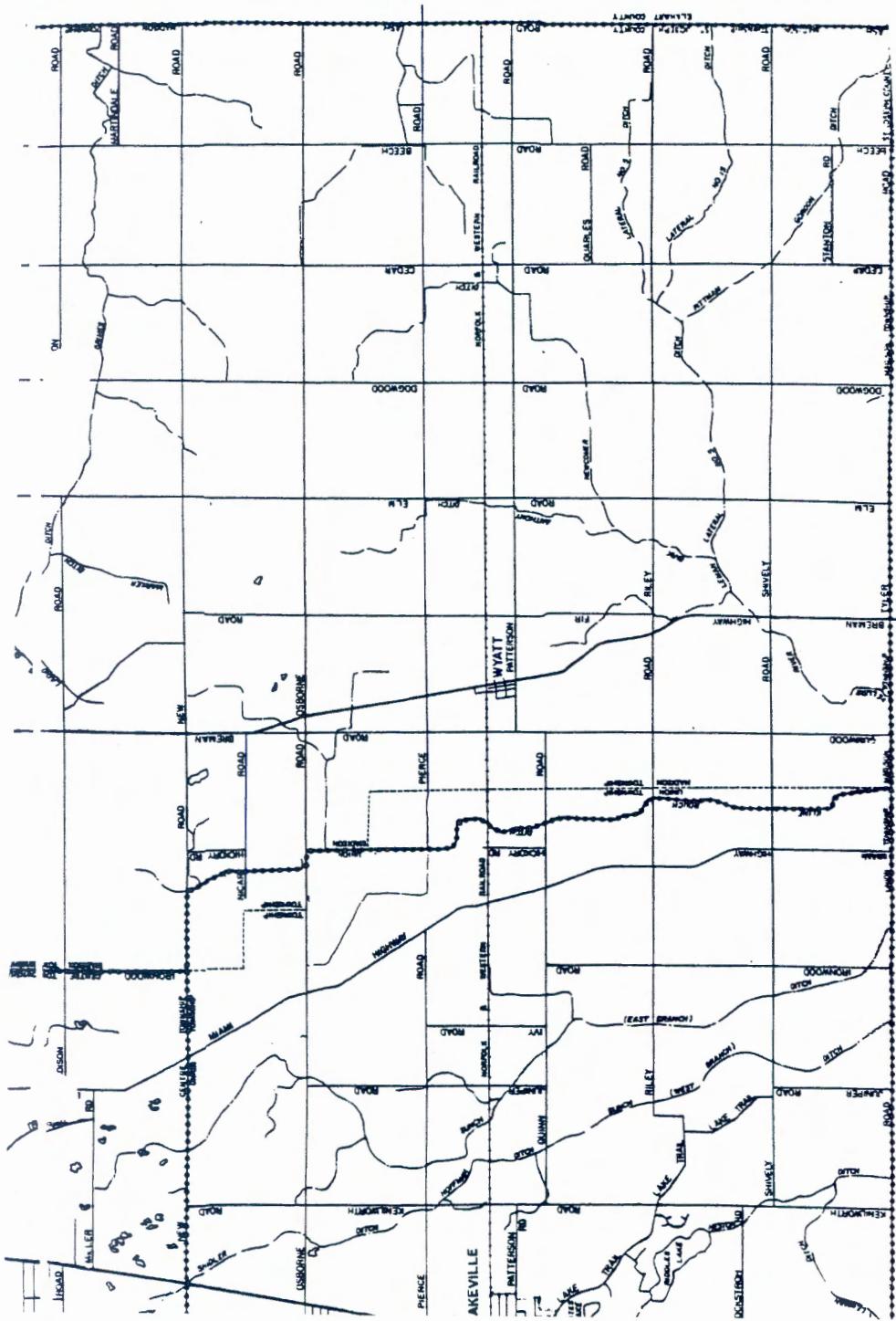
Michigan Area Council of Governments

ST. JOSEPH COUNTY

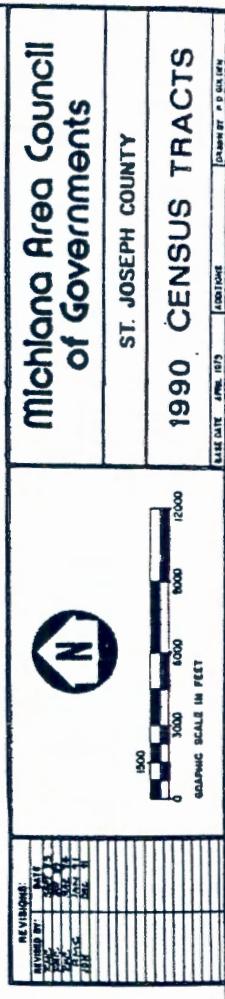
1990 CENSUS TABS

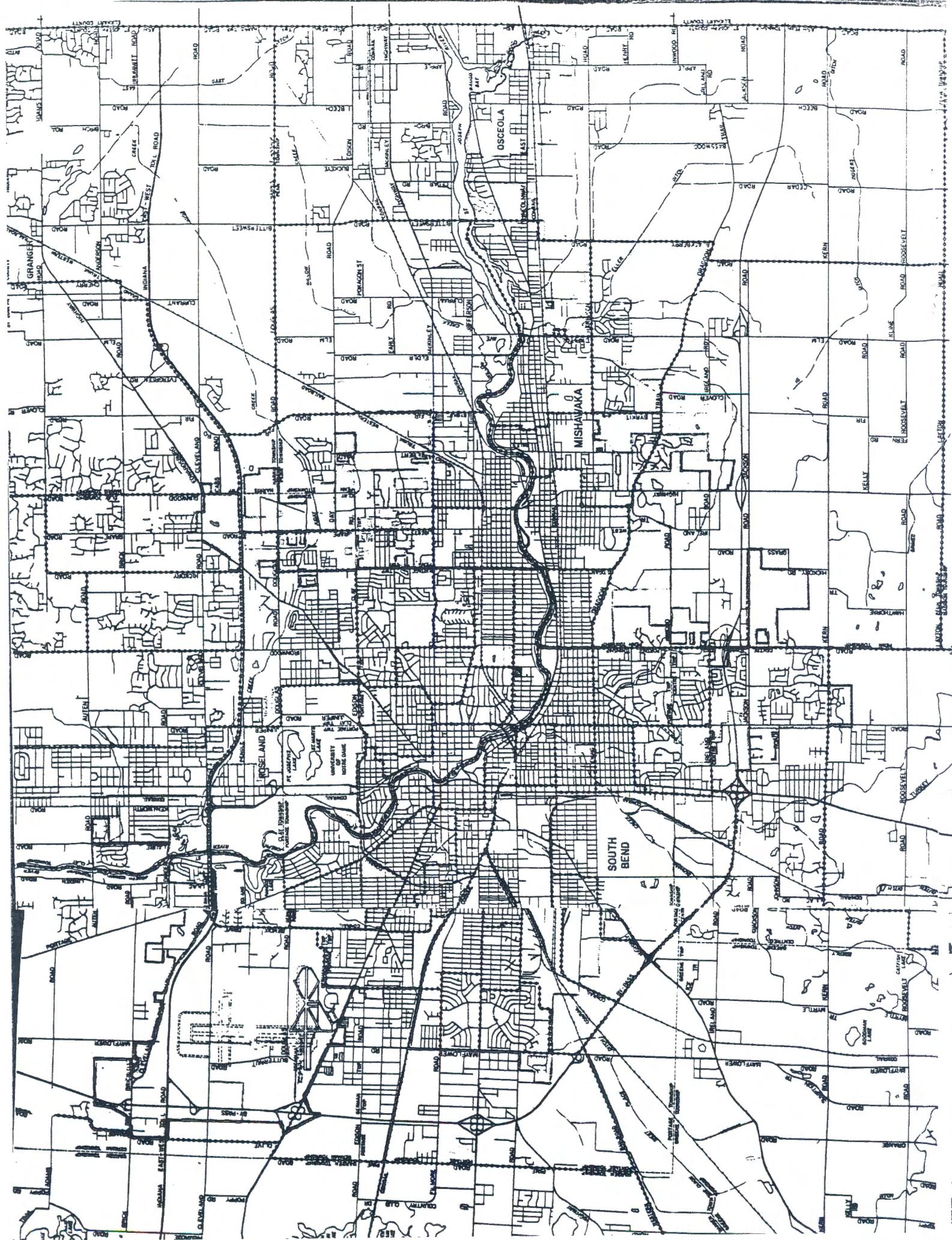






Map 10, Percent Asian by City Block, St. Joseph County, 1990



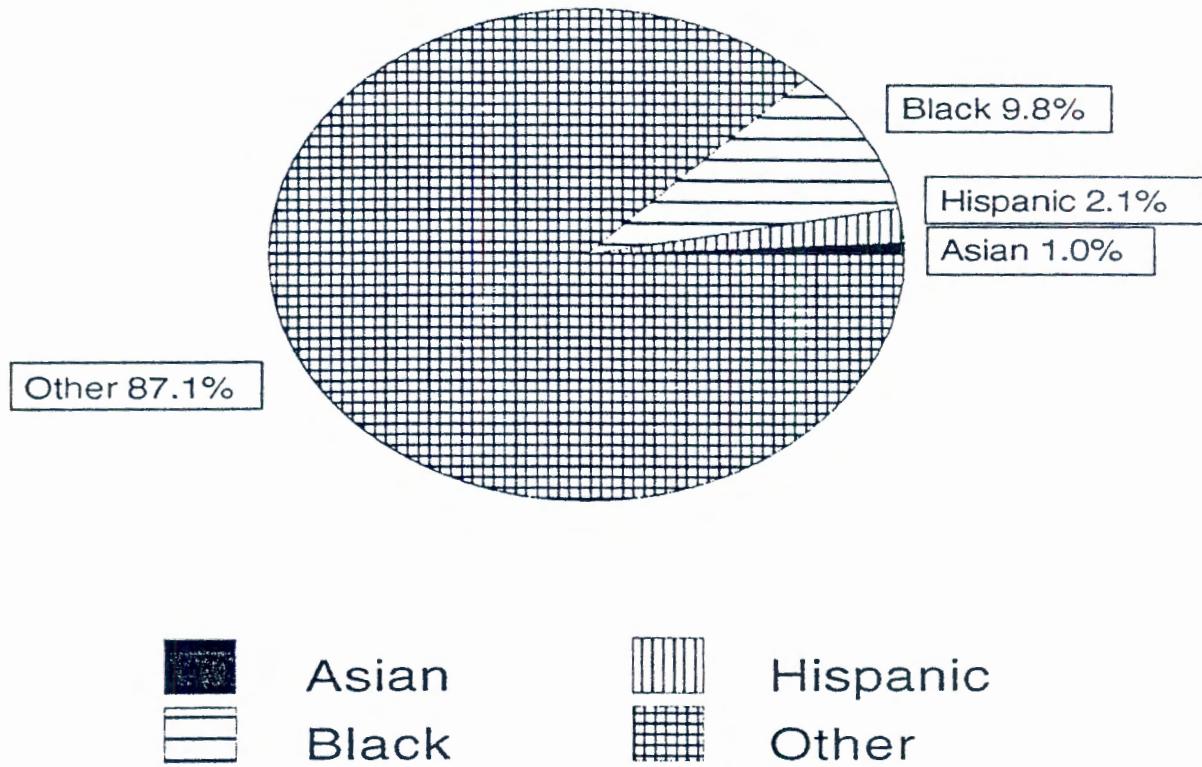


Appendix C

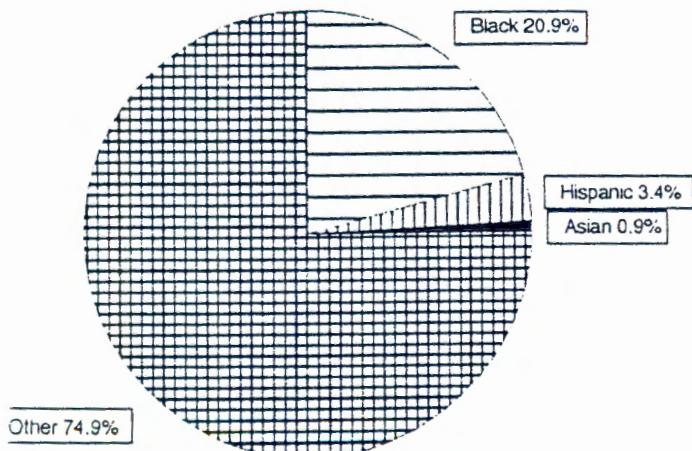
Figures

Figure 1
Racial and Ethnic Composition
St. Joseph County, 1990

Total County



South Bend



Remainder of County

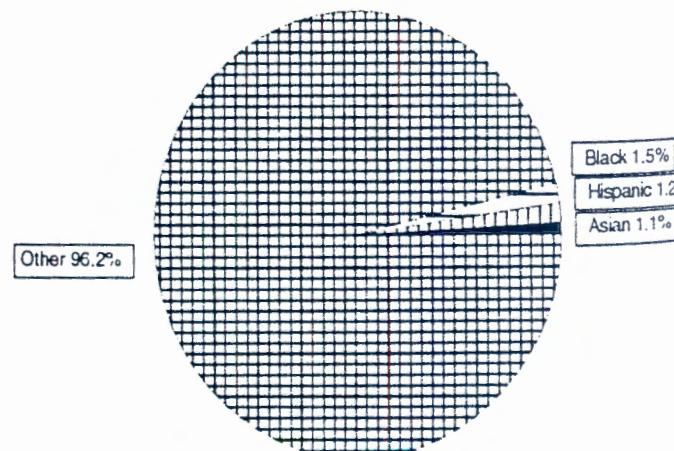


Figure 2

Growth of the Black, Hispanic and Asian Population

St. Joseph County

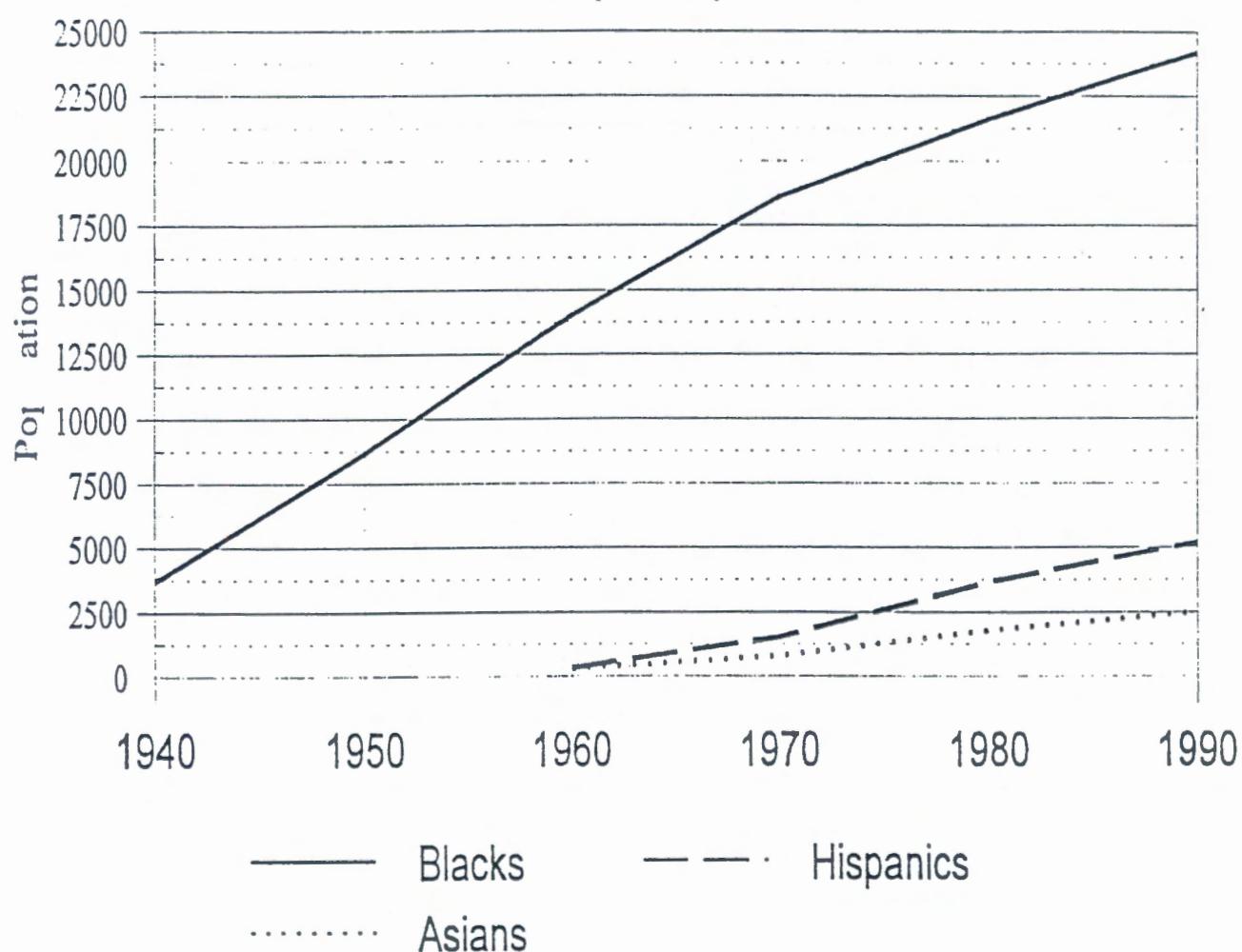


Figure 3

Changes in the Distribution of the Black Population
of St. Joseph County

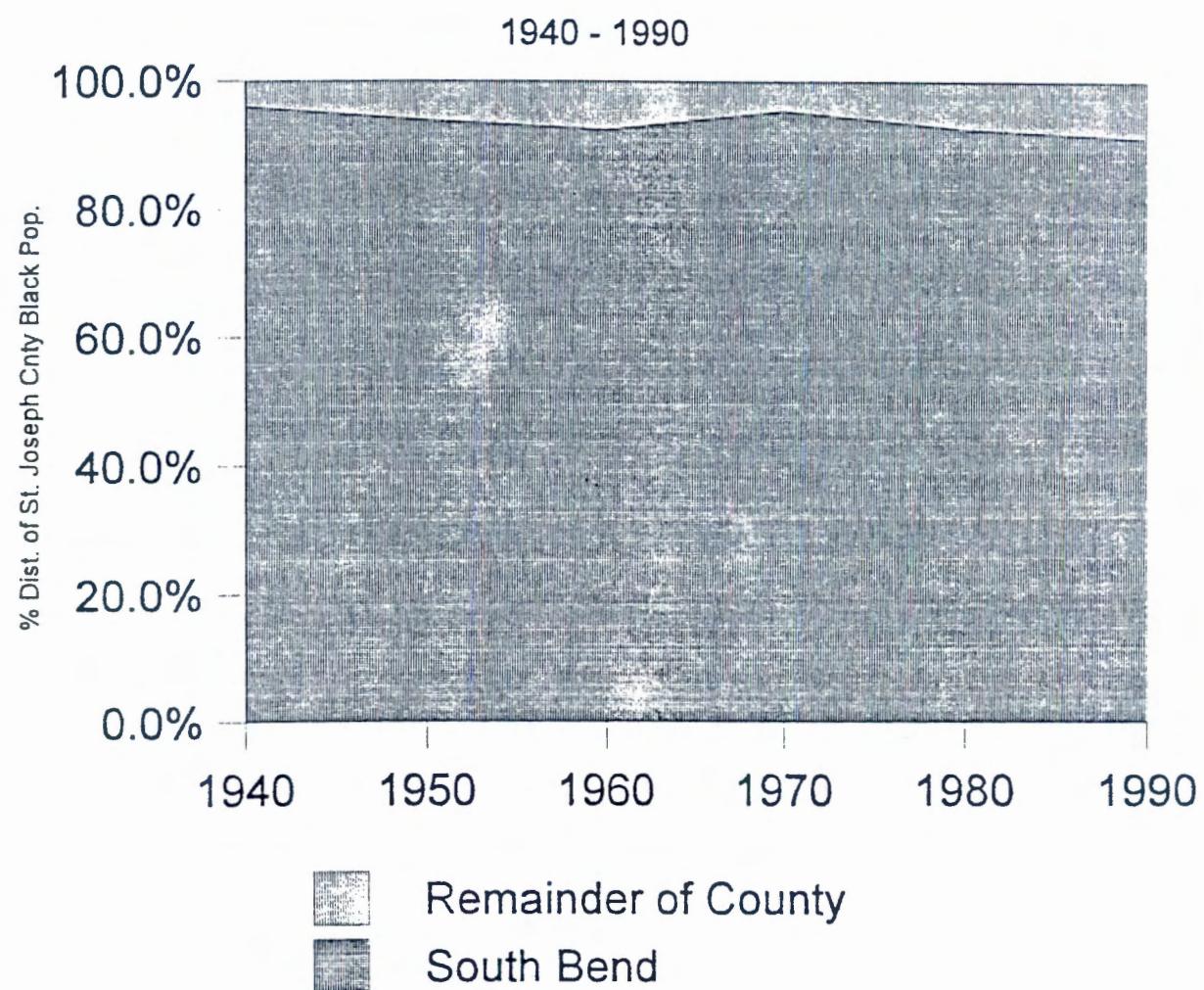


Figure 4

Changes in the Distribution of the Hispanic Population of St. Joseph County

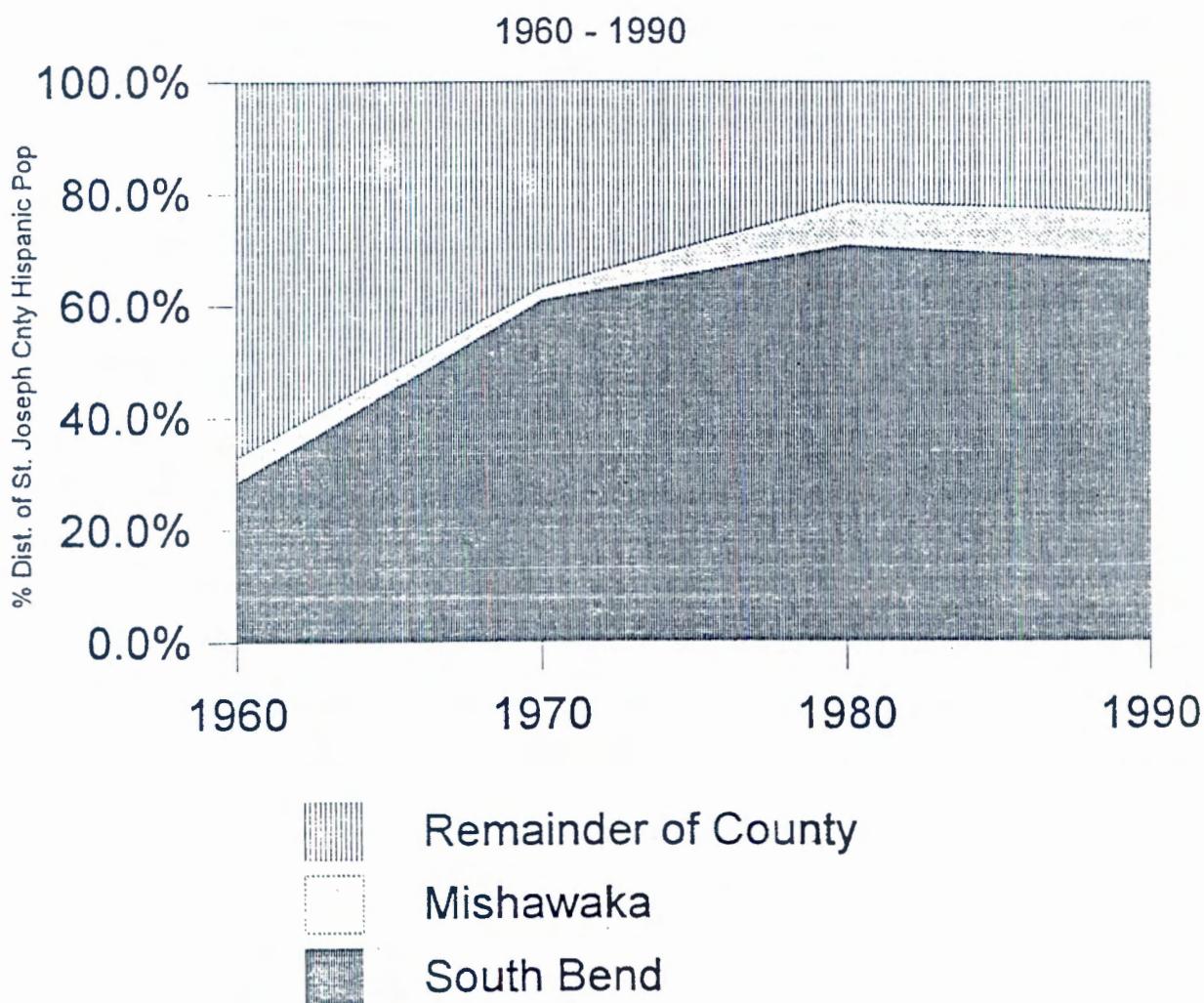


Figure 5

Changes in the Distribution of the Asian Population
of St. Joseph County

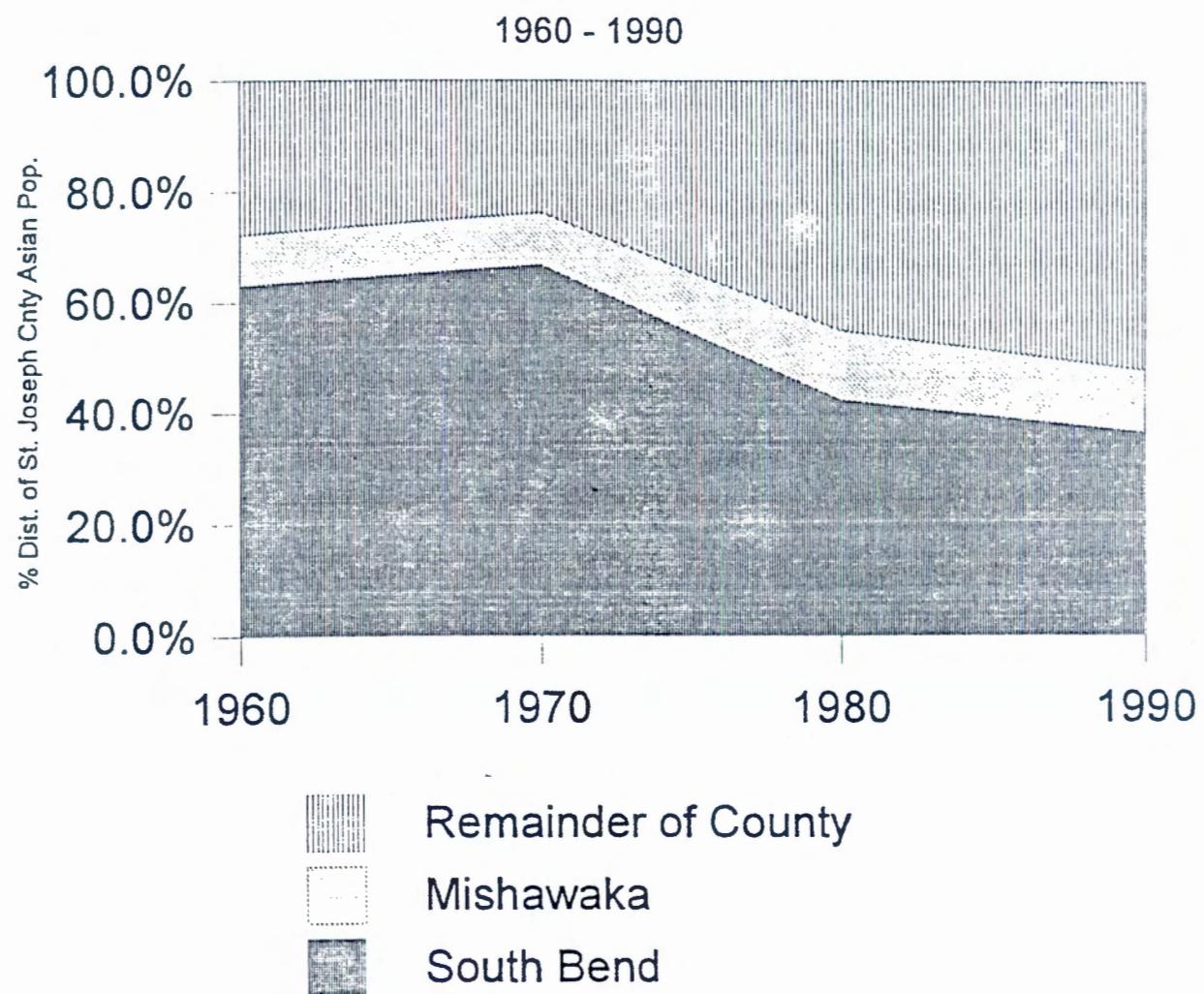


Figure 6

Changes in Percent Black for Major Divisions
of St. Joseph County, 1940 - 1990

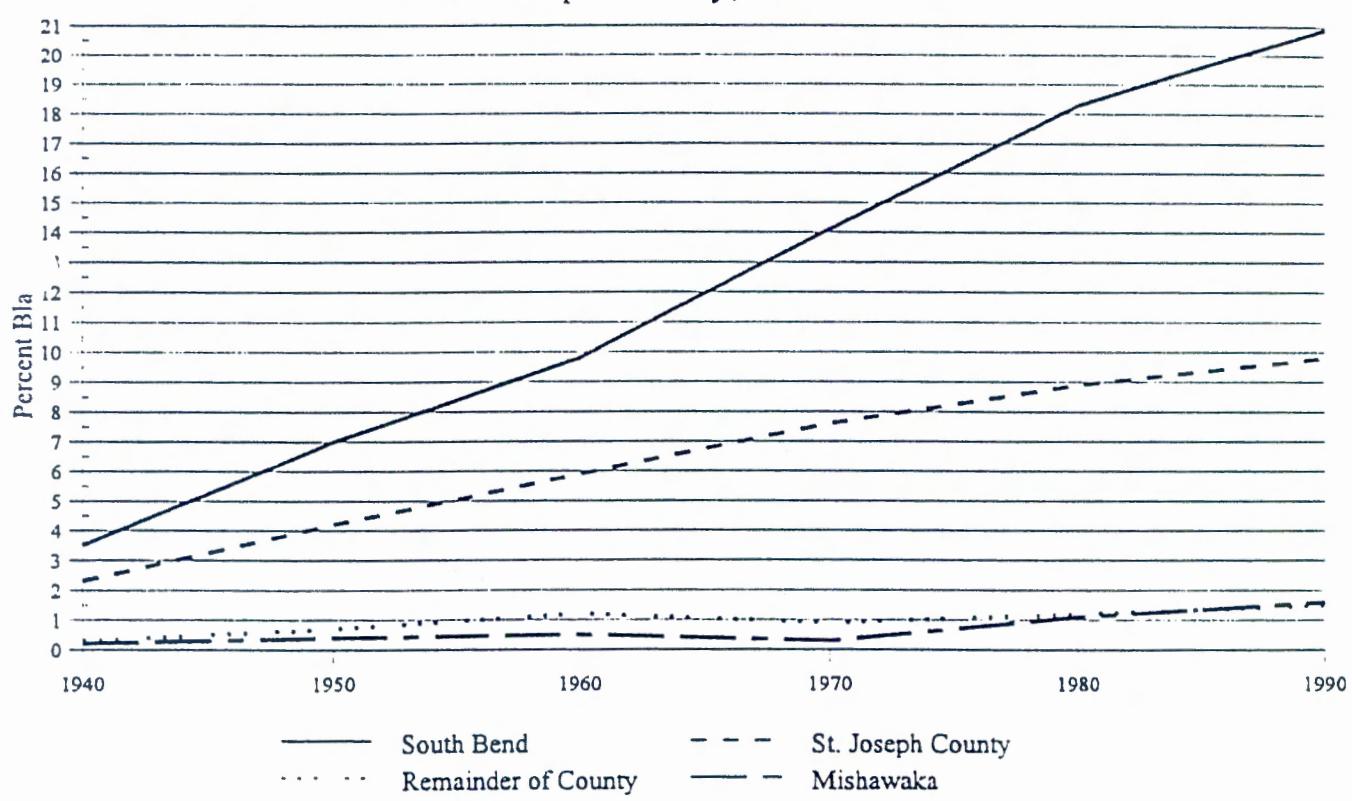


Figure 7

Changes in Percent Hispanic for Major Divisions of St. Joseph County, 1960-1990

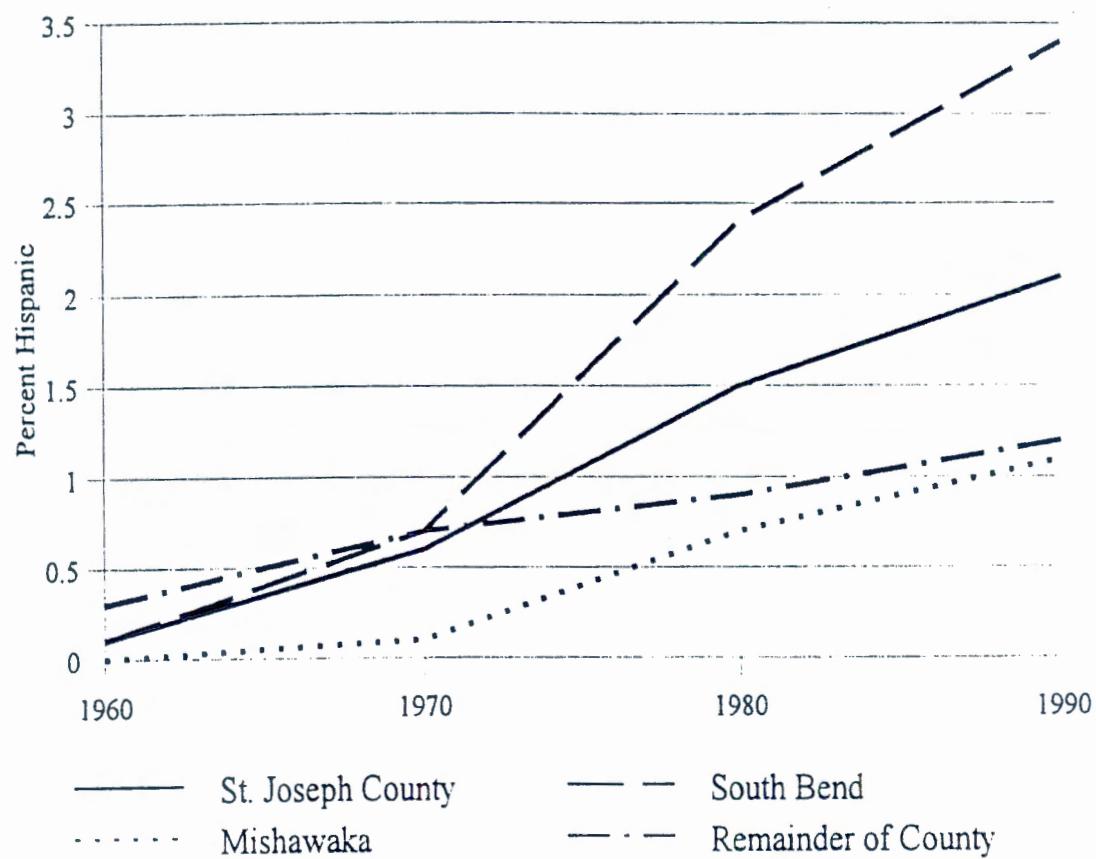


Figure 8

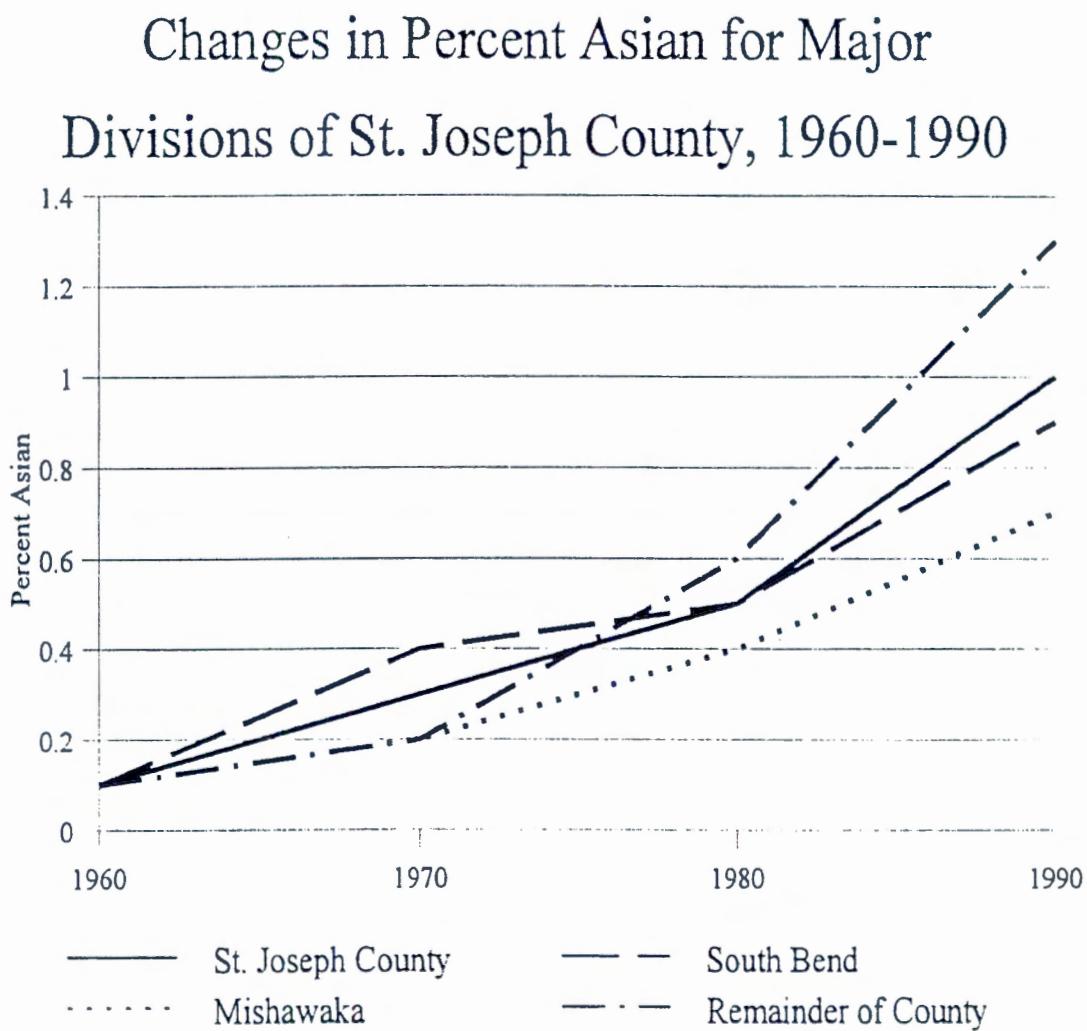


Figure 8

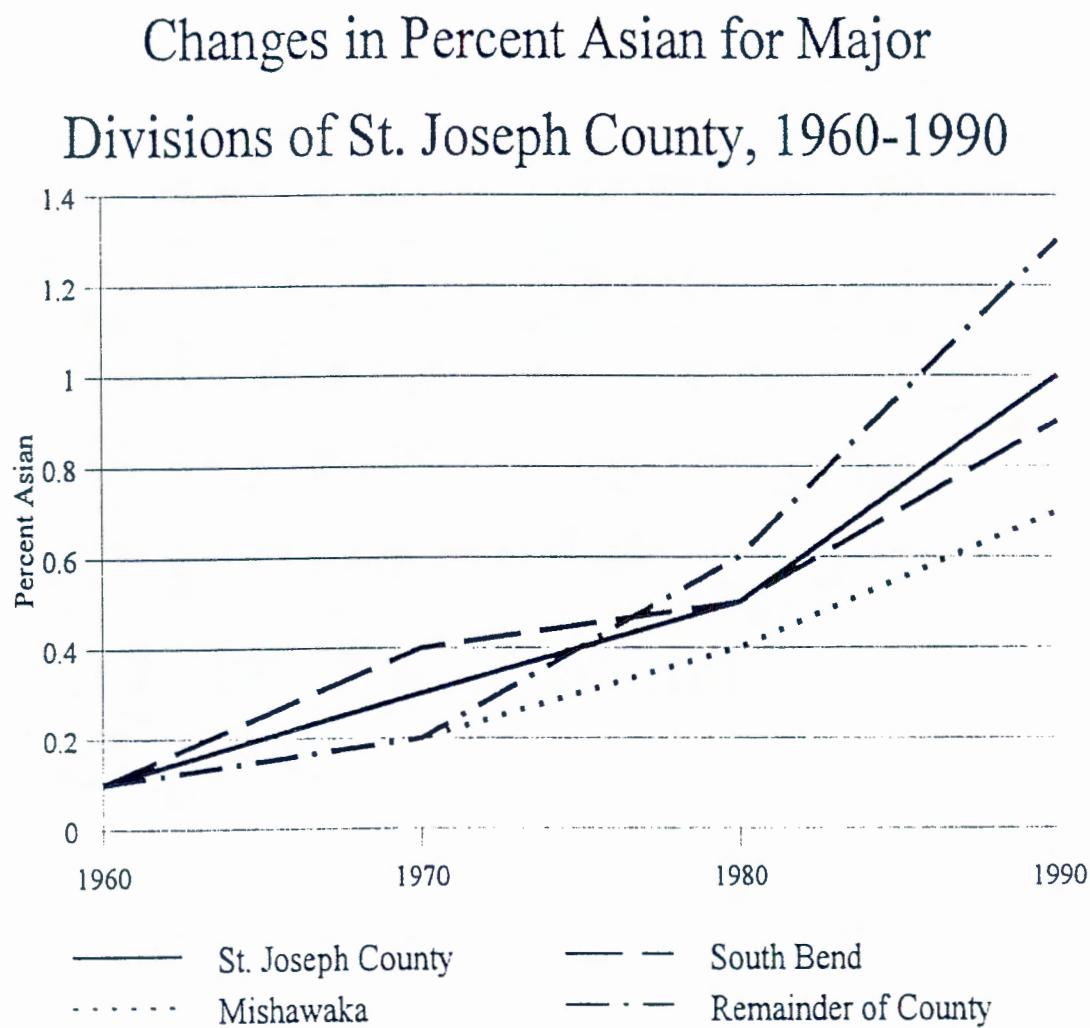


Figure 9

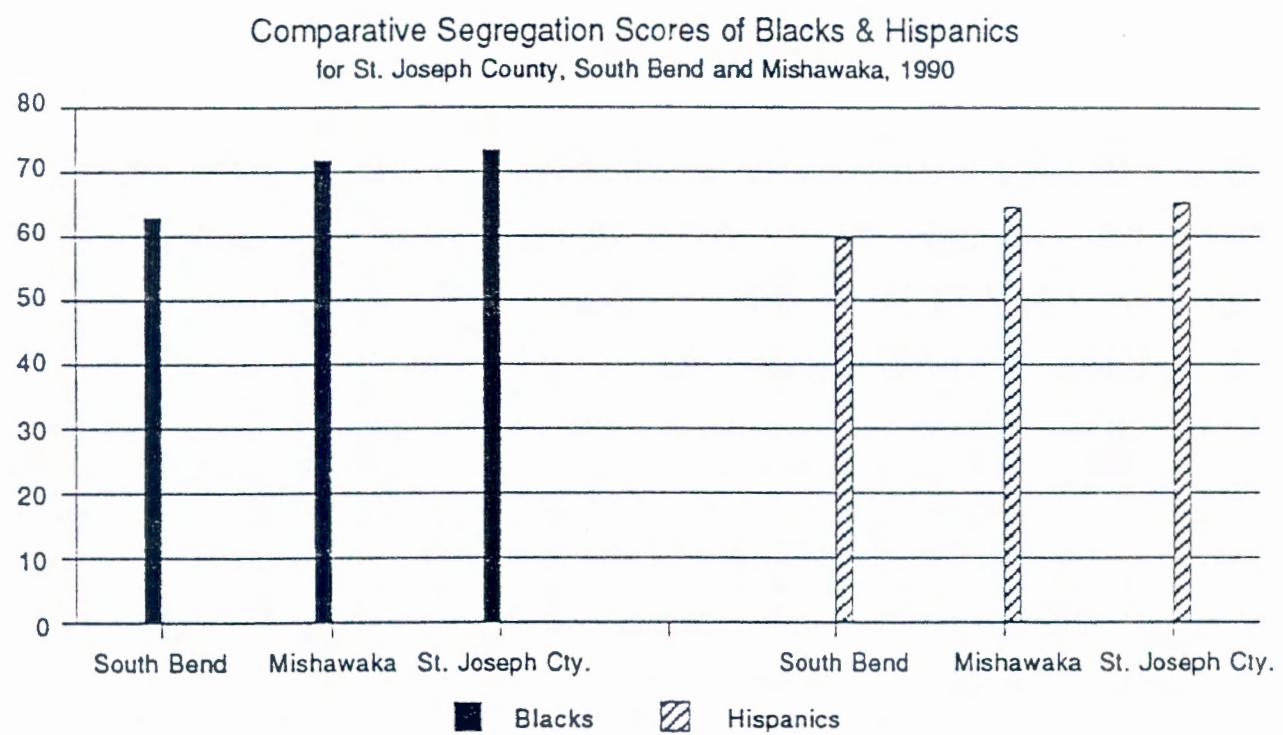


Figure 9

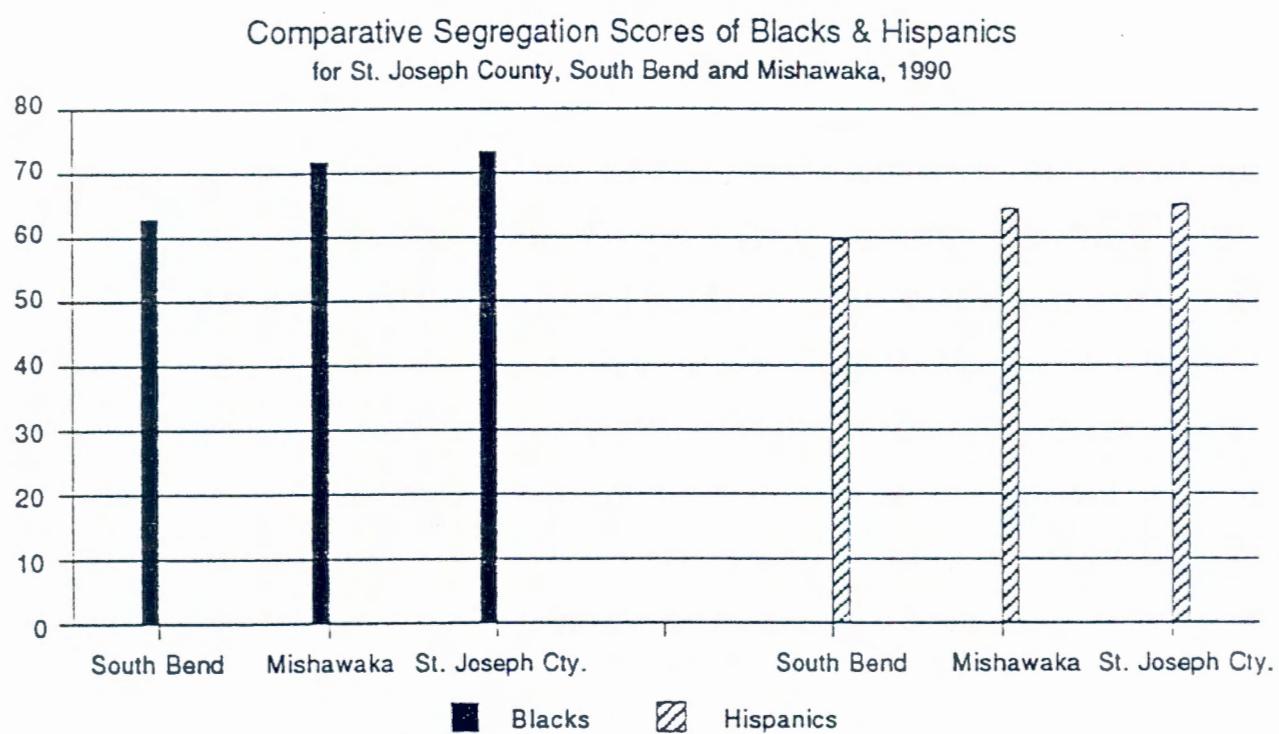
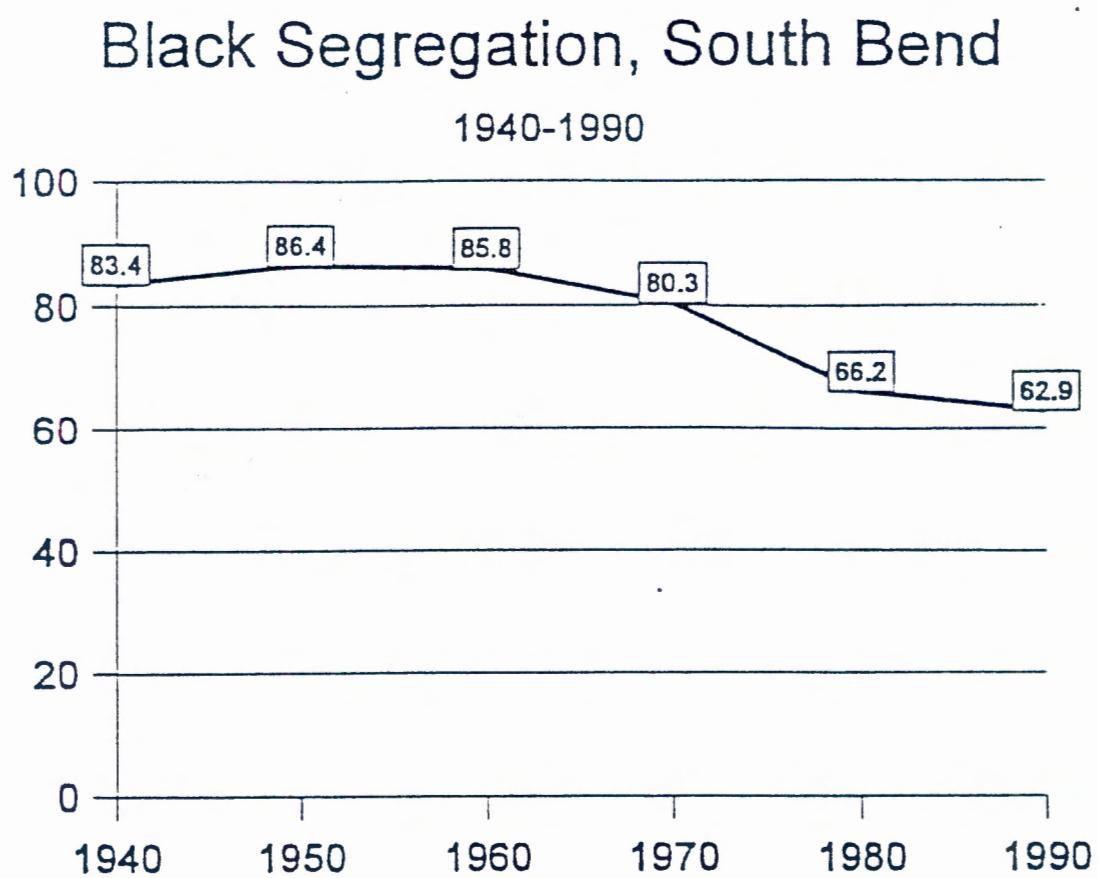


Figure 10



Appendix D

Tables

Appendix D

Tables

Table 1

Black, Hispanic and Asian Populations by Municipalities and Unincorporated Remainders of Townships, 1990.

Locality	Total Population	Black Population		Hispanic Population		Asian Population	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
South Bend	105,511	22,049	20.9	3,546	3.4	916	0.9
Mishawaka	42,608	678	1.6	457	1.1	284	0.7
Walkerton	2,061	5	0.2	14	0.7	3	0.1
Osceola	1,999	3	0.2	11	0.6	1	0.1
New Carlisle	1,446	1	0.1	5	0.3	2	0.1
North Liberty	1,366	1	0.1	23	1.7	3	0.2
Roseland	706	6	0.8	14	2.0	22	3.1
Lakeville	655	1	0.2	1	0.2	3	0.5
Indian Village	142	4	2.8	0	0.0	1	0.7
Clay Township	25,308	523	2.1	282	1.1	649	2.6
Penn Township	16,262	89	0.5	73	0.4	124	0.8
Harris Township	11,477	73	0.6	91	0.8	161	1.4
Portage Township	10,303	575	5.6	445	4.3	242	2.3
Centre Township	6,153	29	0.5	40	0.7	32	0.5
Warren Township	4,997	65	1.3	57	1.1	25	0.5
German Township	4,030	56	1.4	39	1.0	18	0.4
Greene Township	3,037	15	0.5	70	2.3	6	0.2
Union Township	2,700	5	0.2	23	0.9	9	0.3
Olive Township	2,127	8	0.4	5	0.2	2	0.1
Madison Township	1,798	3	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Liberty Township	1,645	0	0.0	2	0.1	3	0.2
Lincoln Township	721	1	0.1	3	0.4	1	0.1
St. Joseph County	247,052	24,190	9.8	5,201	2.1	2,507	1.0

Table 2

**St. Joseph County Black, Hispanic and Asian Populations by Civil Township
Without Regard to Municipalities, 1990.**

Township	Total Population	Black Population		Hispanic Population		Asian Population	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Centre	13,031	271	2.1	114	0.9	105	0.8
Clay	31,033	881	2.8	386	1.2	830	2.7
German	7,222	431	6.0	98	1.4	39	0.5
Greene	3,037	15	0.5	70	2.3	6	0.2
Harris	11,543	77	0.7	93	0.8	162	1.4
Liberty	3,011	1	0.0	25	0.8	6	0.2
Lincoln	2,782	6	0.2	17	0.6	4	0.1
Madison	1,798	3	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Olive	3,573	9	0.3	10	0.3	4	0.1
Penn	59,879	629	1.1	514	0.9	353	0.6
Portage	101,791	21,796	21.4	3,793	3.7	961	0.9
Union	3,355	6	0.2	24	0.7	12	0.4
Warren	4,997	65	1.3	57	1.1	25	0.5
St. Joseph County	247,052	24,190	9.8	5,201	2.1	2,507	1.0

Table 3

Black, Hispanic and Asian Populations by Census Designated Places, 1990.

Name of CDP	Total Population	Black Population		Hispanic Population		Asian Population	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Georgetown	3,993	188	4.7	49	1.2	129	3.2
Granger	20,241	223	1.1	146	0.7	411	2.0
Part in Clay Township	8,764	150	1.7	55	0.6	250	2.9
Part in Harris Township	11,477	73	0.6	91	0.8	161	1.4
Gulivoire Park	2,788	1	0.0	16	0.6	13	0.5

Census Designated Places comprise densely settled concentrations of population that are identifiable by name, but are not legally incorporated places.

Georgetown is located entirely within Clay Township, bounded by Juniper Road, Auten Road, Ironwood Road and the Indiana Toll Road.

Granger includes the unincorporated portion of Clay Township east of Ironwood Road and north of the Indiana Toll Road plus the unincorporated portion of Harris Township.

Gulivoire Park is located entirely within Centre Township south of the city of South Bend.

Table 4

Page 1

Comparative Socio-Economic Profile, Blacks, Hispanics, Asians and Non-Hispanic Whites, 1990

	Blacks		Hispanics		Asians		Non-Hisp. Whites	
	County	South Bend	County	South Bend	County	South Bend	County	South Bend
Total Population	24,190	22,049	5,201	3,546	2,507	916	214,455	78,764
Age:								
Median Age	26.0	26.3	21.1	21.5	26.6	27.0	34.0	35.8
% under 16 yrs.	32.8	33.5	35.1	39.0	24.5	27.1	21.1	19.9
% 65 yrs. or over	9.1	9.4	3.7	3.6	3.5	4.4	15.1	19.7
Dependency rate	41.9	42.9	38.8	42.6	28.0	31.5	36.2	39.6
Fertility:								
Children ever born per 1,000 women 15-44	1,641	1,743	1,196	1,512	748	851	1,189	1,197
Persons per family	3.43	3.44	4.01	4.24	3.57	3.78	3.04	2.95
Family Structure:								
% of all families headed by women, with children under 18	34.7	36.0	20.4	22.2	5.0	5.7	7.4	8.5
Educational Attainment of persons 25 yrs. and older:								
% H.S. grad. or higher	58.3	56.6	63.5	57.4	81.4	71.8	77.8	75.7

Table 4

Page 2

	Blacks		Hispanics		Asians		Non-Hisp. Whites	
	County	South Bend	County	South Bend	County	South Bend	County	South Bend
% bachelors degree or higher	6.8	5.5	19.0	13.3	59.5	43.5	20.0	21.2
Employment and Income:								
% Unemployed	17.5	18.7	10.1	11.1	2.0		4.5	5.2
Median Family Income	\$18,692	\$17,528	\$26,603	\$22,415	\$33,125	\$29,397	\$34,769	\$32,259
% of families below poverty level	30.4	32.3	23.2	27.8	6.8		5.6	8.6
% employed in central city (S.B. or Mish.)	86.2	87.1	81.0	86.1	74.0	88.1	68.9	80.0
% employed outside St. Joseph County	6.9	6.4	6.6	6.3	10.0	4.6	15.4	10.4
Linguistic Diversity:								
% foreign born	0.9	0.6	23.2	24.5	68.4	64.2	2.1	2.6
% persons 5 yrs. and over who speak lang. other than English	4.8	4.8	62.8	65.7	70.7	72.6	0.5	7.5
% of those who speak another lang. who do not speak English "very well"	3.7	3.8	34.7	38.9	39.3	50.2	29.1	29.2

Table 4

Page 3

	Blacks		Hispanics		Asians		Non-Hisp. Whites	
	County	South Bend	County	South Bend	County	South Bend	County	South Bend
# of linguistically isolated households (no English-speaking adult present)	44	34	138	116	145	58	988	603
Residential Stability: Residence in 1985 of persons 5 yrs. and over:								
% same house	48.4	49.4	39.3	44.7	28.0	40.2	57.0	58.3
% abroad	0.7	0.5	9.4	6.7	34.9	27.6	0.4	0.5
Housing:								
% occupied units built 1939 or earlier	34.2	36.6	33.2	39.3	21.8	44.5	24.6	33.5
% units owner occupied	48.7	48.9	54.6	54.4	47.2	41.9	74.8	70.3
Mean persons per room	.54	.55	.72	.74	.66	.71	.43	.42
Median Value	\$31,400	\$30,300	\$34,700	\$29,700	\$77,000	\$48,600	\$52,200	\$42,000
Median Contract Rent	\$280	\$273	\$316	\$309	\$352	\$362	\$335	\$349

Table 5

Growth and Location of the Black Population, South Bend and St. Joseph County, 1940-1990.

	South Bend		Remainder of St. Joseph County		Percent of All St. Joseph Co. Blacks in South Bend
	#	%	#	%	%
1940	3,555	3.5	147	0.2	96.0
1950	8,134	7.0	531	0.5	93.9
1960	12,955	9.8	1,067	1.0	92.4
1970	17,737	14.1	850	0.7	95.4
1980	20,066	18.3	1,538	1.2	92.9
1990	22,049	20.9	2,141	1.5	91.1

Table 6

**Distribution of the Black Population Civil Townships, St. Joseph County,
1960 - 1990.**

	1960		1970		1980		1990	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
St. Joseph County	14,022	100.0	18,587	100.0	21,604	100.0	24,190	100.0
Centre	0	0.0	4	0.0	115	0.5	271	1.1
Clay	45	0.3	51	0.3	475	2.2	881	3.6
German	6	0.0	58	0.3	313	1.4	431	1.8
Greene	1	0.0	6	0.0	10	0.0	15	0.1
Harris	0	0.0	8	0.0	26	0.1	77	0.3
Liberty	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.0	1	0.0
Lincoln	1	0.0	2	0.0	0	0.0	6	0.0
Madison	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	0.0
Olive	4	0.0	2	0.0	1	0.0	9	0.0
Penn	203	1.4	132	0.7	386	1.8	629	2.6
Portage	13,695	97.7	18,235	98.1	20,198	93.5	21,796	90.1
Union	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	0.0	6	0.0
Warren	67	0.5	89	0.5	75	0.3	65	0.3

Table 7

1990 Percent Black For Township Components of the City of South Bend and the Unincorporated Remainder of the Same Townships

Township	Percent Black for Portion in South Bend	Percent Black for Unincorporated Remainder
Centre	3.5%	0.5%
Clay	6.6%	2.1%
German	11.7%	1.4%
Penn	3.7%	0.5%
Portage	23.2%	5.6%

Table 8

Comparative Segregation Scores of Blacks and Hispanics for St. Joseph County, South Bend, and Mishawaka, 1990.

	Index of Segregation	
	Blacks	Hispanics
St. Joseph County	73.3	65.2
City of South Bend	62.9	59.6
City of Mishawaka	71.8	64.5

Table 9

Percent Black and Levels of Segregation for South Bend and Selected
Midwestern Metropolitan Areas, 1980, 1990.

	1990 Size (1000s)	Percent Black	Index of Segregation		
			1990	1980	Change
Chicago	6,070	22	87	91	-4
Detroit	4,382	22	89	89	0
Ann Arbor, MI	283	11	55	55	0
Benton Harbor, MI	161	15	78	77	+1
Champaign, IL	173	10	54	53	+1
Hamilton, OH	291	5	63	74	-11
Jackson, MI	150	8	74	78	-4
Joliet, IL	390	10	76	77	-1
Kalamazoo, MI	223	9	58	60	-2
Kenosha, WI	128	4	68	68	0
Lansing, MI	433	7	60	60	0
Lima, OH	154	8	71	71	0
Lorain, OH	271	8	62	66	-4
Mansfield, OH	126	8	71	74	-3
Peoria, IL	339	7	74	73	+1
Rockford, IL	284	8	75	78	-3
South Bend, IN	247	10	69	71	-2
Springfield, IL	190	8	71	70	+1

Source: Farley and Frey, 1992

Table 10

Percent Black and Levels of Segregation for South Bend and Other Indiana
Metropolitan Areas, 1980, 1990.

	1990 Size (1000s)	Percent Black	Index of Segregation		
			1990	1980	Change
Anderson	131	8	77	78	-1
Bloomington	109	3	43	49	-6
Elkhart	156	5	71	75	-4
Evansville	279	6	66	70	-4
Fort Wayne	364	8	76	77	-1
Gary	605	19	91	90	+1
Indianapolis	1,250	14	80	83	-3
Kokomo	97	5	64	75	-11
Lafayette	131	2	40	43	-3
Muncie	120	6	67	76	-9
South Bend	247	10	69	71	-2
Terre Haute	131	5	64	69	-5

Source: Farley and Frey, 1992

Table 11

Distribution of Asian Population, 1960-1990, for St. Joseph County, South Bend, Mishawaka and the Remainder of St. Joseph County.

	1960 ¹		1970 ¹		1980 ²		1990 ²	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
St. Joseph County	280	100.0	787	100.0	1,178	100.0	2,507	100.0
South Bend	182	65.0	526	66.8	500	42.4	916	36.5
Mishawaka	26	9.3	74	9.4	148	12.6	284	11.3
Remainder of County	72	25.7	187	23.8	530	45.0	1,307	52.2

¹Includes Japanese, Chinese, Filipino and other races except American Indians.
 Asian or Pacific Islander.

Table 12

Distribution of Total, Black, Hispanic, and Asian Population by Zone, South Bend, 1960-1990.

Zone	Year	Total Population	Black Population		Hispanic Population		Asian Population	
			#	%	#	%	#	%
City	1960	132,445	12,955	9.8	92	0.1		
	1970	125,580	17,737	14.1	929	0.7		
	1980	109,727	20,066	18.3	2,594	2.4	500	0.5
	1990	105,511	22,049	20.9	3,546	3.4	916	0.9
A - Northwest (Zone A contained tracts 2, 3, 4, 6 & 7 in 1960. It contained tracts 2, 3.01, 3.02, 4, 6, 7, & 110 in 1970-90.)	1960	20,656	203	1.0	8	0.0		
	1970	21,208	1,239	5.8	40	0.2		
	1980	19,315	3,433	17.8	283	1.5	105	0.5
	1990	19,151	4,498	23.5	441	2.3	149	0.8
B - Northeast (Zone B contained tracts 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 in 1960. It contained tracts 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 112 & 113.01 in 1970-90.)	1960	34,840	2,105	6.0	21	0.1		
	1970	34,865	3,280	9.4	114	0.3		
	1980	30,560	3,767	12.3	372	1.2	215	0.7
	1990	28,477	3,907	13.7	489	1.7	436	1.5
C - West (Zone C contained tracts 1, 5, 19, 20, & 21)	1960	17,559	4,629	26.4	29	0.2		
	1970	15,183	6,028	39.7	51	0.3		
	1980	11,209	5,040	45.0	215	1.9	28	0.2
	1990	9,758	5,159	52.9	241	2.5	22	0.2
D - LaSalle Park Western Ave. (Zone D contained tracts 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 & 27)	1960	21,201	4,038	19.0	14	0.1		
	1970	18,603	3,302	17.7	488	2.6		
	1980	15,427	4,130	26.8	917	5.9	11	0.1
	1990	14,116	4,199	29.7	1,200	8.5	41	0.3
E - Southwest (Zone E contained tracts 28 and 34)	1960	7,063	523	7.4	0	0.0		
	1970	6,212	597	9.6	22	0.4		
	1980	5,481	906	16.5	269	4.9	21	0.4
	1990	5,137	965	18.8	382	7.4	29	0.6
E - Southeast (Zone F contained tracts 17, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33 & 35)	1960	30,218	1,423	4.7	20	0.1		
	1970	26,976	3,247	12.0	208	0.8		
	1980	21,775	2,499	11.5	488	2.2	74	0.3
	1990	20,382	2,588	12.7	648	3.2	159	0.8

Table 13

Page 1

Distribution of Total, Black, Hispanic, and Asian Population by Census Tract,
South Bend, 1960-1990.

Tract #	Year	Total Population	Black Population		Hispanic Population		Asian Population	
			#	%	#	%	#	%
1	1960	2,952	0	0.0	29	1.0		
	1970	2,910	7	0.2	9	0.3		
	1980	2,352	95	4.0	21	0.9	7	0.3
	1990	2,209	440	19.9	27	1.2	2	0.1
2	1960	4,789	147	3.1	4	0.1		
	1970	4,834	693	14.3	0	0.0		
	1980	4,078	1,190	29.2	45	1.1	14	0.3
	1990	3,806	1,400	36.8	68	1.8	12	0.3
3	1960	4,024	0	0.0	0	0.0		
	1970	3,556	15	0.4	19	0.5		
	1980	2,978	80	2.7	23	0.8	20	0.7
	1990	2,968	219	7.4	58	2.0	29	1.0
.02	1960	Part of	Tracts 2 & 3					
	1970	1,396	22	1.6	10	0.7		
	1980	2,098	123	5.9	24	1.1	9	0.4
	1990	2,626	241	9.2	48	1.8	22	0.8
4	1960	3,815	26	0.7	0	0.0		
	1970	3,508	243	6.9	0	0.0		
	1980	3,100	904	29.2	24	0.8	9	0.3
	1990	2,945	1,134	38.5	61	2.1	7	0.2
5	1960	3,052	362	11.9	0	0.0		
	1970	2,721	585	21.5	0	0.0		
	1980	2,294	879	38.3	20	0.9	9	0.4
	1990	2,132	1,084	50.8	21	1.0	9	0.4
6	1960	4,737	25	0.5	0	0.0		
	1970	4,176	176	4.2	11	0.3		
	1980	3,525	817	23.2	97	2.8	33	0.9
	1990	3,497	1,170	33.5	148	4.2	16	0.5
7	1960	3,290	5	0.2	4	0.1		
	1970	2,943	58	2.0	0	0.0		
	1980	2,450	151	6.2	48	2.0	16	0.7
	1990	2,237	190	8.5	38	1.7	63	2.8

Table 13

Page 2

Tract #	Year	Total Population	Black Population		Hispanic Population		Asian Population	
			#	%	#	%	#	%
8	1960	2,394	1	0.0	0	0.0		
	1970	2,448	9	0.4	12	0.5		
	1980	2,192	75	3.4	33	1.5	16	0.7
	1990	1,978	82	4.1	32	1.6	40	2.0
9	1960	4,773	577	12.1	0	0.0		
	1970	2,264	319	14.1	7	0.3		
	1980	1,427	308	21.6	18	1.3	8	0.6
	1990	1,301	331	25.4	41	3.2	29	2.2
10	1960	4,812	1,513	31.4	8	0.2		
	1970	5,186	2,748	53.0	52	1.0		
	1980	4,110	2,333	56.8	93	2.3	35	0.9
	1990	3,768	2,311	61.3	113	3.0	66	1.8
11	1960	5,024	1	0.0	0	0.0		
	1970	6,063	75	1.2	0	0.0		
	1980	5,454	495	9.1	87	1.6	61	1.1
	1990	4,810	369	7.7	73	1.5	84	1.7
12	1960	3,021	3	0.1	0	0.0		
	1970	3,020	71	2.4	13	0.4		
	1980	2,646	137	5.2	7	0.3	15	0.6
	1990	2,350	154	6.6	15	0.6	19	0.8
13	1960	2,084	0	0.0	0	0.0		
	1970	2,827	21	0.7	7	0.2		
	1980	2,525	80	3.2	17	0.7	13	0.5
	1990	2,362	108	4.6	46	1.9	24	1.0
14	1960	4,489	0	0.0	0	0.0		
	1970	4,262	7	0.2	8	0.2		
	1980	3,571	48	1.3	30	0.8	7	0.2
	1990	3,571	114	3.2	62	1.7	32	0.9
15	1960	4,165	1	0.0	0	0.0		
	1970	4,030	8	0.2	0	0.0		
	1980	3,413	138	4.0	37	1.1	8	0.2
	1990	3,498	201	5.7	58	1.7	57	1.6
16	1960	4,078	9	0.2	13	0.3		
	1970	2,905	22	0.8	15	0.5		
	1980	2,945	97	3.3	22	0.7	17	0.6
	1990	2,856	159	5.6	20	0.7	14	0.5

Table 13

Page 3

Tract #	Year	Total Population	Black Population		Hispanic Population		Asian Population	
			#	%	#	%	#	%
17	1960	2,688	257	9.6	0	0.0		
	1970	2,057	810	39.4	30	1.5		
	1980	1,008	298	29.6	27	2.7	7	0.7
	1990	756	206	27.2	59	7.8	3	0.4
18	1960	908	34	3.7	0	0.0		
	1970	509	40	7.9	0	0.0		
	1980	628	96	15.3	11	1.8	5	0.8
	1990	686	187	27.3	20	2.9	2	0.3
19	1960	3,385	345	10.2	0	0.0		
	1970	3,086	1,162	37.7	16	0.5		
	1980	2,126	919	43.2	74	3.5	6	0.3
	1990	1,985	1,078	54.3	75	3.8	9	0.5
20	1960	3,844	1,384	36.0	0	0.0		
	1970	3,004	1,765	58.8	26	0.9		
	1980	2,302	1,528	66.4	66	2.9	6	0.3
	1990	1,583	1,090	68.9	63	4.0	2	0.1
21	1960	4,326	2,538	58.7	0	0.0		
	1970	3,462	2,509	72.5	0	0.0		
	1980	2,135	1,619	75.8	34	1.6	0	0
	1990	1,849	1,467	79.3	55	3.0	0	0
22	1960	4,197	85	2.0	7	0.2		
	1970	3,865	305	7.9	152	3.9		
	1980	3,057	442	14.5	391	12.8	1	0
	1990	2,998	588	19.6	549	18.3	12	0.4
23	1960	3,524	2,974	84.4	0	0.0		
	1970	1,927	1,627	84.4	51	2.6		
	1980	1,811	1,658	91.6	14	0.8	1	0.1
	1990	1,612	1,456	90.3	42	2.6	0	0
24	1960	3,879	0	0.0	0	0.0		
	1970	3,679	631	17.2	61	1.7		
	1980	3,079	936	30.4	208	6.8	2	0.1
	1990	2,897	992	34.2	216	7.5	10	0.3
25	1960	1,923	0	0.0	0	0.0		
	1970	2,438	93	3.8	9	0.3		
	1980	2,354	530	22.5	56	2.4	6	0.3
	1990	2,007	499	24.9	46	2.3	3	0.1

Table 13

Page 4

Tract #	Year	Total Population	Black Population		Hispanic Population		Asian Population	
			#	%	#	%	#	%
26	1960	3,980	1	0.0	0	0.0		
	1970	4,352	154	3.5	36	0.8		
	1980	3,685	338	9.2	39	1.1	1	0.0
	1990	3,189	443	13.9	60	1.9	13	0.4
27	1960	3,698	978	26.4	7	0.2		
	1970	2,342	492	21.0	180	7.7		
	1980	1,441	226	15.7	209	14.5	0	0
	1990	1,413	221	15.6	287	20.3	3	0.2
28	1960	2,427	36	1.5	0	0.0		
	1970	1,741	27	1.6	0	0.0		
	1980	1,658	293	17.7	49	3.0	6	0.4
	1990	1,525	289	19.0	93	6.1	19	1.2
29	1960	4,976	1,144	23.0	0	0.0		
	1970	3,586	2,071	57.8	43	1.2		
	1980	1,851	1,038	56.1	134	7.2	2	0.1
	1990	1,461	800	54.8	160	11.0	7	0.5
30	1960	3,908	16	0.4	0	0.0		
	1970	3,513	337	9.6	43	1.2		
	1980	3,025	728	24.1	128	4.2	15	0.5
	1990	2,596	763	29.4	148	5.7	11	0.4
31	1960	4,961	2	0.0	0	0.0		
	1970	4,461	11	0.2	25	0.6		
	1980	3,775	185	4.9	64	1.7	11	0.3
	1990	3,707	231	6.2	98	2.6	43	1.2
32	1960	5,472	4	0.1	0	0.0		
	1970	6,199	6	0.1	6	0.1		
	1980	5,772	83	1.4	50	0.9	19	0.3
	1990	5,805	183	3.2	49	0.8	53	0.9
33	1960	3,967	0	0.0	20	0.5		
	1970	3,578	11	0.3	26	0.7		
	1980	3,125	46	1.5	36	1.2	10	0.3
	1990	3,131	117	3.7	58	1.9	11	0.4
34	1960	4,636	487	10.5	0	0.0		
	1970	4,471	570	12.7	22	0.5		
	1980	3,823	613	16.0	220	5.8	15	0.4
	1990	3,612	676	18.7	289	8.0	10	0.3

Table 13

Page 5

Tract #	Year	Total Population	Black Population		Hispanic Population		Asian Population	
			#	%	#	%	#	%
35	1960	4,246	0	0.0	0	0.0		
	1970	3,582	1	0.0	35	1.0		
	1980	3,219	121	3.8	49	1.5	10	0.3
	1990	2,926	288	9.8	76	2.6	31	1.1
110	1960	Part of	Tract 3					
	1970	795	32	4.0	0	0.0		
	1980	1,086	168	15.5	22	2.0	4	0.4
	1990	1,072	144	13.4	20	1.9	0	0
111	1960	Not Within	City Limits					
	1970	Part of	Tract 1					
	1980	999	137	13.7	14	1.4	0	0
	1990	960	232	24.2	42	4.4	1	0.1
112	1960	Not Within	City Limits					
	1970	0	0	0.0	0	0.0		
	1980	256	2	0.8	0	0.0	7	2.7
	1990	237	8	3.4	1	0.4	3	1.3
113.01	1960	Part of	Tract 11					
	1970	1,860	0	0.0	0	0.0		
	1980	2,021	54	2.7	28	1.4	43	2.1
	1990	1,746	70	4.0	28	1.6	87	5.0
113.03	1960	Not Within	City Limits					
	1970	40	0	0.0	0	0.0		
	1980	38	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	1990	477	77	16.1	5	1.0	0	0.0
117	1960	Not Within	City Limits					
	1970	11	0	0.0	0	0.0		
	1980	352	6	1.7	2	0.6	3	0.9
	1990	1730	64	3.7	32	1.8	16	0.9
118	1960	Part of	Tract 35					
	1970	1,973	4	0.2	6	0.3		
	1980	4,042	52	1.3	23	0.6	23	0.6
	1990	4,594	173	3.8	46	1.0	42	0.9
119	1960	Not Within	City Limits					
	1970	Not Within	City Limits					
	1980	1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	1990	43	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

Table 14

Distribution of the Black and Hispanic Population by Zone, Mishawaka, 1960-1990.

	Year	Tracts 101-107 (entire city in 1960)		North Annexed Tracts		South Annexed Tracts		City	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Black	1960	183	100.0					183	100.0
	1970	78	72.9	29	27.1	0	0.0	107	100.0
	1980	213	49.1	197	45.4	24	5.5	434	100.0
	1990	239	35.3	401	59.1	38	5.6	678	100.0
Hispanic	1960	15	100.0					15	100.0
	1970	37	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	37	100.0
	1980	197	69.1	67	23.5	21	7.4	285	100.0
	1990	287	62.8	128	28.0	42	9.2	457	100.0

Table 15

Racial and Ethnic Composition of Zones, Mishawaka, 1960-1990.

Zone	Year	Total Population	Black Population		Hispanic Population	
			#	%	#	%
City	1960	33,361	183	0.5	15	0.0
	1970	35,517	107	0.3	37	0.1
	1980	40,201	434	1.1	285	0.7
	1990	42,608	678	1.6	457	1.1
1960 City Area (The 1960 city area contains tracts 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106 and 107.)	1960	33,361	183	0.5	15	0.0
	1970	32,426	78	0.2	37	0.1
	1980	29,233	213	0.7	197	0.7
	1990	29,489	239	0.8	287	1.0
North Annexed Area (The north annexed area contained tracts 113.01 and 115 in 1970. It contained tracts 113.01, 113.02, 115.01, 115.02 and 115.03 in 1980. It contained tracts 113.01, 113.06, 114.01, 115.01, 115.02 and 115.03. 1990.)	1960	Not Within	City Limits			
	1970	2,358		29	1.2	0
	1980	6,737		197	2.9	67
	1990	8,118		401	4.9	128
South Annexed Area (The south annexed area contained tracts 116 and 117 in 1970. It contained tracts 116, 117.01 and 117.02 in 1980 & 1990.)	1960	Not Within	City Limits			
	1970	733		0	0.0	0
	1980	4,231		24	0.6	21
	1990	5,001		38	0.8	42

Table 16

Page 1

**Distribution of Total, Black and Hispanic Population by Census Tract,
Mishawaka, 1960-1990.**

Tract #	Year	Total Population	Black Population		Hispanic Population	
			#	%	#	%
101	1960	7,034	36	0.5	0	0.0
	1970	4,059	27	0.7	7	0.2
	1980	3,382	27	0.8	36	1.1
	1990	3,339	30	0.9	34	1.0
102	1960	5,282	85	1.6	0	0.0
	1970	6,904	2	0.0	0	0.0
	1980	6,162	62	1.0	37	0.6
	1990	5,925	43	0.7	61	1.0
103	1960	3,969	11	0.3	0	0.0
	1970	4,963	15	0.3	0	0.0
	1980	5,287	23	0.4	36	0.7
	1990	5,338	58	1.1	53	1.0
104	1960	2,400	0	0.0	15	0.6
	1970	3,340	1	0.0	8	0.2
	1980	3,064	5	0.2	7	0.2
	1990	3,484	10	0.3	31	0.9
105	1960	2,701	26	1.0	0	0.0
	1970	2,556	25	1.0	0	0.0
	1980	2,825	53	1.9	9	0.3
	1990	2,689	21	0.8	6	0.2
106	1960	7,552	20	0.3	0	0.0
	1970	5,260	6	0.1	17	0.3
	1980	4,351	34	0.8	32	0.7
	1990	4,336	51	1.2	65	1.5
107	1960	4,423	5	0.1	0	0.0
	1970	5,344	2	0.0	5	0.1
	1980	4,162	9	0.2	40	1.0
	1990	4,378	26	0.6	37	0.8
113.01	1960	Not Within City Limits				
	1970	0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	1980	0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	1990	356	13	3.7	11	3.1

Table 16

Page 2

Tract #	Year	Total Population	Black Population		Hispanic Population	
			#	%	#	%
113.02	1960	Not Within	City Limits			
113.02	1970	Not Within	City Limits			
113.02	1980	0	0	0.0	0	0.0
113.06	1990	12	0	0.0	0	0.0
114.01	1960	Not Within	City Limits			
	1970	Not Within	City Limits			
	1980	Not Within	City Limits			
	1990	56	4	7.1	2	3.6
115	1960	Not Within	City Limits			
115	1970	2,358	29	1.2	0	0.0
115.01	1980	2,963	166	5.6	33	1.1
	1990	3,272	282	8.6	61	1.9
115.02	1960	Not Within	City Limits			
	1970	Part Of	Tract 115			
	1980	3,170	24	0.8	33	1.0
	1990	3,928	95	2.4	54	1.4
15.03	1960	Not Within	City Limits			
	1970	Part Of	Tract 115			
	1980	604	7	1.2	1	0.2
	1990	494	7	1.4	0	0.0
116	1960	Not Within	City Limits			
	1970	0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	1980	446	5	1.1	6	1.3
	1990	801	14	1.7	10	1.2
117	1960	Not Within	City Limits			
117	1970	733	0	0.0	0	0.0
117.01	1980	3,385	19	0.6	15	0.4
	1990	3,451	17	0.5	24	0.7
117.02	1960	Not Within	City Limits			
	1970	Not Within	City Limits			
	1980	400	0	0.0	0	0.0
	1990	749	7	0.9	8	1.1

